JONAS OF ORLÉANS (c. 780-843): HIS PASTORAL WRITINGS AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

by

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ABBREVIATIONS OF WORKS FREQUENTLY CITED*

ASOSB	J. Mabillon (ed.), *Acta sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*.
Acta Sanctorum	C. de Smedt et al., *Acta Sanctorum*, Tomus I, November, 1887.
Bouquet	M. Bouquet (ed.), *Recueil des historiens des Gaules . . .*
BRG	P. Jaffé (ed.), *Bibliotheca rerum Germanicarum*.
Clercq	Carlo de Clercq. *La législation religieuse franque*. I. *De Clovis à Charlemagne*. II. *De Louis le Pieux à la fin du IXe siècle*.
CP	*Concilium Parisiense anno 829*. *MGH*, Legum sectio III.
CSEL	*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*.
DCI	Jonas of Orléans, *De cultu imaginum*.
DIL	Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione laicali*.
DIR	Jonas of Orléans, *De institutione regia*.
EP	*Epistola Concilii Aquisgranensis ad Pippinum*. *MGH*, Legum sectio III.
HTSH	Jonas of Orléans, *Historia translationis Sancti Huberti*.
Mansi	J. Mansi (ed.), *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*.

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*Complete citation is given in the Bibliography.

MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*

Epistolae	*Epistolae Karolini Aevi*
Capitularia	Legum sectio II
Concilia	Legum sectio III
Formulae	Legum sectio V
Poeta	*Poetae Latini aevi Carolini*
SS	*Scriptores*

PL	J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus*. Series latina.
SRD	J. Langebek (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Danicarum*.
SRG	G. Waitz (ed.), *Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum*.
VSH	Jonas of Orléans, *Vita Sancti Huberti*.

INTRODUCTION

A French Church historian has called Jonas of Orléans a typical man of his times,[1] and the author of the only published book on Jonas observes that this very quality of typicality gives Jonas a special value for the historian.[2] Certainly the typical man of any era, to the extent that there is such a one, helps qualify a view of history written largely around political leaders.

Jonas of Orléans may be a typical ecclesiastic of the second quarter of the ninth century, but it is certain that he will remain a somewhat shadowy figure, because a wealth of data needed to draw a detailed picture of his life is not available to the historian. Nevertheless, there is a value in assembling in one place what can be known about the man, and in examining his writings against the background of the times in which he lived. It is in the lives and writings of men like Jonas of Orléans that we find the very warp and woof of the human story at a particularly fascinating period of Church history. It was during Jonas' lifetime that the liturgy of the western Church was put to its first test after its shaping under the Carolingian liturgists. The story of Jonas has little to say about the liturgy as such; it does throw some light, however, on the way men saw the Christian life and how they lived it during this particularly crucial period of liturgical synthesis.

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[1] E. Amann, "Jonas d'Orléans," *Dictionnaire theologie catholique*, ed. A. Vacant and E. Mangenot VIII (1925), 1506: "Bien qu'il soit en somme très peu original et peut-être a cause de cela même, Jonas représente au mieux la culture ecclésiastique et la théologie de la renaissance carolingienne."

[2] Jean Reviron, *Les idées politico-religieuse d'un évêque du IX^{e} siècle, Jonas d'Orléans et son "De institutione regia"* (Paris, 1930), p. 35.

In reading the works of Jonas of Orléans, we catch a glimpse of Carolingian society as portrayed by a member of the only class that could leave a written record of its experiences. In Jonas we are especially fortunate, not only because his career combined active participation in public affairs with a rather consistent literary output, but especially because he showed a pastoral concern for persons of every walk of life, from the poor man cheated at the noble's mill, to the disgruntled and rebellious younger sons of the emperor; and from the monks who carried off the community plate when they fled the monastery, to the count who asked for a rule of life for a married man.

Chapter I tells the story of Jonas' activities as these can be ascertained from primary sources. These include references in Jonas' own works, contemporary chronicles, charters and synodal documents which bear his signature, and letters addressed to Jonas by the Emperor and by Lupus, the Abbot of Ferrières.

Once it has been established that Jonas was a bishop who took his vocation seriously, it remains to examine his pastoral writings in Chapter II. The description of each of the works in some detail helps throw light on the picture of Jonas' character as well as on his career. Here and in subsequent chapters, Jonas is permitted to speak for himself whenever possible, a method which enables the reader to draw his own conclusions about the value of what the Bishop of Orléans had to say to the people to whom he addressed himself.

The work of Jonas which receives the major attention in this study is his De institutione laicali, a pastoral treatise which Jonas wrote early in his career, and on which he himself drew heavily later. It is in this treatise that we can discover his own understanding of the Christian life, as well as something of the intellectual and social climate in which he lived.

Jonas' two hagiographical writings, Vita Sancti Huberti and Historia translationis Sancti Huberti, belong to the same tradition as Saint Gregory the Great's Libri dialogorum. They are actually moral essays, and like Gregory before him, Jonas uses his life of Saint Hubert to press his views on ideals of Christian conduct.

The De institutione regia, the only work of Jonas which has attracted much attention from modern historians, is a derivative work. Whatever its value for a study of Carolingian political thought, it cannot claim to be one of Jonas' major writings, either in his own view, or in that of succeeding generations.

Whether the Epistola ad Pippinum, sometimes called De ecclesiasticis rebus non invadendis, can be attributed to Jonas remains a mooted question. On the basis of manuscript evidence, as well as on the strength of the light thrown on Jonas' ecclesiastical career by a study of his role in local reform councils, it seems safe to include the work among Jonas' writings, and so it is treated in Chapter II.

Finally, from De cultu imaginum, Jonas' polemic against iconoclasm, it is possible to form some idea of the religious ferment that characterized his age.

In significant contrast to the extremists on both sides of the controversy, Jonas emerges as a prudent and moderate pragmatist. De cultu imaginum, written early, but published late in his career, explains more, perhaps, than any other of his works, why Jonas survived the reign of Louis the Pious.

After this survey of Jonas' works in the second chapter, influences which played on him when he wrote his treatise for laymen are treated in Chapter III. In this chapter, attention is focused not on the two great literary sources from which he drew his material, Scripture and the Fathers, but rather on the more proximate environmental and literary factors which conditioned Jonas' thought. The chapter includes an examination of the diocesan statutes of Orléans, and of prevailing Carolingian theory and practice of the sacraments of baptism and penance. Finally, two late literary sources, Julianus Pomerius' De vita contempliva and Alcuin's De virtutibus et vitiis liber, are studied for their influence on Jonas' ideas of Christian morality.

Chapter IV analyzes De institutione laicali for what it tells of the society in which Jonas lived. Three groups are isolated: clergy, married people, and the rich and poor seen in their mutual relations.

In Chapter V there is a description of Jonas' ethical teaching. This teaching is viewed under the aspect which is central to Christian morality, the aspect of charity. In this chapter there is no attempt at a theological analysis which would be outside the scope of this study. Rather, there is a record of Jonas' own description of charity as he conceives it and explains it for a layman.

Chapter VI treats the Council of Paris, 829, at which Jonas played a leading role, and in whose acts he incorporated a large portion of *De institutione laicali*, only to extract it later, together with other of the Council's Acts, for his treatise, *De institutione regia*. In describing the relationship of Jonas' treatises to the Paris Council, the chapter shows the immediate social significance of Jonas' writings.

The seventh and final chapter draws conclusions from this examination of Jonas' career and writings, and indicates further research problems which emerge from this study.

CHAPTER I

JONAS, BISHOP OF ORLÉANS (c. 780-843)

Early life and training

Jonas was born in Aquitaine, sometime in the last decades of the eighth century. There is no evidence for the exact date of his birth.[1] From 781, Aquitaine had belonged to Charlemagne's son, Louis, who had been crowned its king at the age of three. Louis left Aquitaine when he succeeded Charlemagne in 814. At this time the kingship of Aquitaine was assigned to Louis' second son, Pepin. Aquitaine's strong tradition of independence soon asserted itself, and it showed its separatist tendencies throughout the dissensions and civil wars of Louis' reign.[2]

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[1] Karl Amelung, Leben und Schriften des Bischofs Jonas von Orléans (Dresden, 1888), p. 4; Maximilianus Manitius, Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters (Munich: Oskar Beck, 1911), II, 374; Reviron, p. 23.

Reviron agrees with Manitius' hypothesis that Jonas was born probably before 780. Manitius' argument is based on a passage in the Epistola ad pippinum regem, in which Jonas makes a reference to his physical weakness. This could have been the result of illness as well as age. A better argument is that of Amelung, who notes that Jonas was able to argue with Adoptionist heretics before the year 799. This would support the view that Jonas was born not much after 780, and probably considerably earlier.

Not long after Louis became emperor, Jonas became bishop of the important diocese of Orléans. All his life, therefore, he was in a close political relationship to Louis the Pious. This fact helps explain Jonas' consistent loyalty to the emperor.

Of Jonas' early life and education, there is little evidence except what can be gleaned from his own writings. In these there is ample proof that he was well trained in Latin, and had access to a representative number of writings of the Fathers, and works of pagan Latin writers. Manitius calls attention to the fact that Jonas' knowledge of literature may well have been broader than Alcuin's.[3]

We know that Jonas' literary abilities were recognized by his contemporaries. With the exception of the De institutione regia, all his works that have come down to us were written at the express request of others. Several of the extant letters to Jonas give further witness to his reputation for learning. Amalar, Bishop of Metz, wrote to ask him about a fine point of Greek usage.[4] The classical scholar, Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, demurred when Jonas asked him to comment on one of his works.[5]

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[2] Eleanor Shipley Duckett, Carolingian Portraits: A Study in the Ninth Century (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 43.

In 832, Pepin encouraged the revolt of his brother, Louis the German, and the emperor retaliated by taking Aquitaine from Pepin and giving it to Charles, his son by Judith. The following year, the Aquitanians fought to restore Aquitaine to Pepin.

[3] Manitius, p. 377.

Sometime early in life Jonas made a trip to Asturias. There, he tells us, he met some disciples of Elipandus, Bishop of Toledo, and Felix, Bishop of Urgel, both proponents of the Adoptionist heresy which held that Christ was the Son of God by adoption, not by nature. Jonas' own account of his encounter with the heretics throws some light on his interests and temperament. He explains that he recognized Elipandus and Felix as antichrists, and avoided them as stubborn heretics.[6] It should be remembered, however, that he

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[4] J. M. Hanssens (ed.), Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1948-1950), II, 388. "Amelarius Jonae Venerabili Episcopo. Pater intimate nato, quibus notis inferius figuratis rectius videatur vobis pingi nomen Jesu: IHC an IHS . . ."

[5] Léon Levillain, Loup de Ferrières: Correspondence editée et traduite par Léon Levillain (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1927), p. 107, n. 4. The work Lupus declined to review was probably Jonas' De cultu imaginum.

[6] Jonas of Orléans, De cultu imaginum. PL, CVI, 308-309. "Elephantus scilicet . . . cujus discipulos apud Astures me aliquando vidisse memini . . . perspicuitatisque meae probatu, secundum eorum actum et habitum, certissimos antichristos esse liquido deprehendi . . . ut haereticos devitavi."

About the same time, Leidradus of Lyons and wrote the account some twenty-five years after the experience, and may have given a later reaction rather than an accurate picture of his position at the time of the encounter. Aside from this trip to Asturias, there is no certain evidence for any other event of Jonas' career prior to his elevation to the episcopate.

The diocese of Orléans

According to the earliest annals of the diocese, Jonas was the fifty-third bishop of Orléans, a diocese whose legendary history stretched back to the first century.[7] Eight of the early bishops were revered as

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Saint Benedict Aniane were sent to Septimania to preach against adoptionism. See Allen Cabaniss, Agobard of Lyons, Churchman and Critic (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1953), p. 9. Later, Agobard wrote against the Adoptionists. If Cabaniss is correct in assigning 819-820 to Agobard's treatise against Felix of Urgel, the heresy lasted well beyond the years of Jonas' youth. Allen Cabaniss, "Agobard of Lyons," Speculum, XXVI (1951), 54.

[7] Carolus de la Saussaye, Annales Ecclesiae Aurelianensis (Paris, 1615). An introductory page [unnumbered] gives as first bishop, Saint Altinus (d. 69). This, however, is legendary. Long before he reaches the ninth century, however, Saussaye's work is trustworthy. He cites a number of manuscript sources no longer extant. The copy of the Annales used is that in the Bibliotheque National, Paris. Symphorien Guyon, Notitia sanctorum Ecclesiae Aurelianensis et historia chronologica episcoporum ejusdem ecclesiae (Orléans: Maria Paris, 1637), p. 223, says that Jonas was Orléans' forty-third bishop. According to another account, Jonas is only the thirty-eighth bishop of Orléans. See Gallia christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa (Paris, 1715-1865), VIII, 1423-1424.

saints; the first, Altinus, was remembered as a martyr.[8] Orléans was, then, in no sense a missionary diocese, or a new one. It had been the scene of important councils in the sixth century,[9] and the center of a flourishing Gallo-Roman culture represented by such men as Saint Cesarius of Arles.

Orléans was a suffragan of Sens, a city whose origins can be traced to Celtic times, when Sens was already an important settlement. Under the Gallo-Romans, Sens became capital of a large section of Gaul, including Auxerre, Chartres, Orléans, Troyes, Meaux, and Paris. The same area became an ecclesiastical province. When Saint Boniface reformed and reorganized the Frankish Church late in the eighth century, he re-established the province of Sens. Sens had several outstanding archbishops in Jonas' lifetime. One was Jeremy, whom Jonas accompanied on a diplomatic mission to Rome in 825. Wenilo of Sens, metropolitan in the later years of Jonas' episcopate, was among the most prominent ecclesiastics in Carolingian governmental affairs. It was Wenilo who anointed Charles the Bald in 848. Interestingly, the ceremony was performed not in Sens, but at Orléans.[10]

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[8] Saussaye, p. 233. There is rather good evidence for a fifth century bishop, Saint Aignan (c. 453). This is the bishop credited by Saint Gregory of Tours with saving Orléans from Attila and the Huns in 451.

[9] In 549, the Fifth Council of Orléans was attended by seven archbishops, forty-three bishops, and representatives of twenty-one absent bishops. Besides condemning Monophysite and Nestorian errors, the council made many disciplinary regulations. Charles Hefele and H. Leclercq, Histoire des conciles d'après les documents originaux (Paris: Letouzey et Anne, 1909), III, Pt. I, 157-163.

To understand the situation in which Jonas found himself when he succeeded to the bishopric of Orléans, it will be useful to consider the career of his immediate predecessor, Theodulph.[11] Theodulph, who was married and had a daughter,[12] was a conscientious ruler of his diocese. He has left a valuable picture of his pastoral ideals in two sets of diocesan decrees issued during his episcopate.[13] A good example of his pastoral care is his capitulary concerning education.[14]

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[10] Emile Lesne, _La hiérarchie épiscopale: provinces, métropolitains, primats en Gaul et Germanie depuis la réforme de Saint Boniface jusqu'à la mort d'Hincmar (742-882)_ (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, 1905), pp. 44; 274, n. 1; 275, n. 8. Henri-Paul Eydoux, _Resurrection de la Gaule: Les grandes fouilles archéologiques_ (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1961), pp. 59-60.

Recent excavations under the choir of the present cathedral of Orléans have uncovered the foundations of the ninth century church, which was an enlargement of a fourth century building. Remains of the ninth century mosaic tile floor, in what was presumably the sanctuary, give some idea of the elegance of Jonas' cathedral. I am grateful to Monseigneur P.-M. Brun, Archprêtre de la Cathédrale d'Orléans, for conducting me through these excavations.

[11] Theodulph became archbishop, receiving the pallium in 801. He did not become metropolitan, however, but simply archbishop _ad honores_. Jonas never attained this position; he was simply a bishop. Lesne, p. 71.

[12] _PL_, CV, 187. Theodulph addressed a charming piece of verse to this daughter, whose name was Gislam. The verse accompanied a copy of the Psalms translated

> Priests should keep school in hamlets and villages: and, if any of the faithful wish to entrust their children to them to learn letters, let them not refuse to receive and teach them; but teach them in all charity, taking note of that which is written in Daniel (xii,3) 'They that be wise shall shine as the firmament.' Moreover, when they teach them, they shall charge nothing for so doing, nor receive anything from them, except what their parents willingly offer for charity's sake.[15]

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into Latin. Theodulph points out that it is Saint Jerome's translation, and therefore the best. Gislam is told to read and ponder the Psalms often. MGH, Poetae II, 541-542.

[13] See Chapter III, pp. 119-130.

[14] For an insight into the prevailing climate of opinion regarding education, see Luitpold Wallach, "Charlemagne's De Litteris Colendis and Alcuin," Speculum, XXVI (1951), 288-305. Wallach shows the limited legal significance of the document. It seems safe to infer that Theodulph's decree had even less legal strength. Nevertheless, the hypothesis that bishops and priests passed on their knowledge to selected youth as a normal procedure is still tenable. I am indebted to Professor David Knowles for discussing this question in the light of documentary evidence concerning a parallel situation in England.

[15] B. J. Kidd (ed.), Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church (London: SPCK, 1920), p. 79. The original is in Mansi, XIII, 998-999. Joseph Imbart de la Tour, Les paroisses rurales du IV^{e} au XI^{e} siècle (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1900), p. 128, points out that these schools were intended to train youths who were to become priests. The modern reader should not see in Theodulph's decree any attempt at popular education.

Theodulph wrote verse[16] and several theological treatises.[17]

In political affairs he played an active role. In 798, he was sent as missus to southern France, and has left in verse a vivid account of corruption in the local courts.[18] In the assembly of Frankish and Roman nobles which was held in Rome in 800, and which led directly to the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, Theodulph was among the imperialist clerics who promoted the views of Alcuin, when the latter chose not to attend the synod because of his age and feeble health.[19]

Because of his support of the revolt of Bernard, king in Italy, Theodulph was dismissed from his diocese in 818. Jonas was appointed to the see, but whether he actually succeeded Theodulph in 818 is not certain.

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[16] The well-known hymn, "Gloria, laus, et honor" has been attributed to Theodulph. Pl, CV, 308. Peter Scott Dale, "Alcuin as a Poet: Rhetoric and Belief in His Latin Verse," University of Toronto Quarterly, XXXIII (1964), 233-257, discusses Theodulph's verse as well as Alcuin's.

[17] De Spiritu Sancto, PL, CV, 259-276; De ordine baptismi, PL, CV, 223-240. The latter is discussed below in Chapter III.

[18] Versus Teudulfi Episcopi contra judices, MGH, Poetae II, 493-517.

[19] Luitpold Wallach, "The Roman Synod of December, 800, and the Alleged Trial of Leo III," Harvard Theological Review, XLIX (1956), 135.

Theodulph, in prison in the monastery of Angers, protested his innocence and claimed his rights, and one account tells of his reinstatement and death in 821.[20]

Theodulph is remembered chiefly as a court poet of the palace school of Aachen. However, some idea of the extent of his influence as a bishop can be seen in the fact that the earlier of his two collections of diocesan decrees was translated into Anglo-Saxon in the tenth century.[21] There is convincing evidence that Jonas was strongly influenced by his exemplary predecessor, and that he attempted to continue Theodulph's policies.[22]

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[20] *Annales Einhardi*, *MGH*, *Scriptores* I, 205. See also Mansi, XIV, 386, and Lesne, *La hiérarchie épiscopale*, p. 80. Anselm, bishop of Milan, and Wulfoldus, bishop of Cremona, were also involved. Bernard was blinded "judicio Francorum capituli" and the bishops "synodali decreto depositos monasterios mancipari."

[21] Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs (eds), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869), I, xii. The *Liber legum ecclesiasticarum* is found in David Wilkins (ed.), *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae* (London: 1737), I, 265-282. Wilkins gives both the Latin and Anglo-Saxon versions, and dates both at the end of the tenth century. He reports an earlier editor who recognized that the work was actually composed by Theodulph of Orléans near the end of the eighth century. The work corresponds with the first set of diocesan decrees of Theodulph as found in *PL*, CV, 191-208. The tenth century Latin version treats exactly the same topics as Theodulph's, but in a very different Latinity, suggesting that the later Latin version made in England may well have been translated from the Anglo-Saxon version, and not the other way around. The case is a good example of the mutual influence of the English and Franks in religious matters during the Carolingian period and beyond.

A treatise for laymen

Among the activities of the early years of Jonas' episcopate was the production of the pastoral treatise, De institutione laicali.[23] The occasion for the composition of this work was a request Jonas received from Matfrid, the Count of Orléans. Matfrid asked for a rule of life for a married man. Jonas complied with the request for a short instruction by writing sixty-nine chapters divided into three books. The inspiration for the work may well have come from the Synod of 817, which promulgated the monastic reform legislation of Saint Benedict Aniane. This synod had intended to provide a rule of life for laymen, parallel to that for monks, but did not produce a text.[24]

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[22] See Chapter III, pp. 119-130. Theodulph's capitularies have been accepted as illustrative of actual diocesan and parish organization of the time. Imbart de la Tour, Paroisses . . . , p. 127, claims that normal parish organization included priests, deacons, and clerks with definite roles. The text cited, PL, CV, 193, hardly admits this interpretation. Theodulph is writing to priests and makes no mention of deacons.

[23] See Chapter II, n. 2, p. 47.

[24] Joachim Scharf, "Studien zu Smaragdus und Jonas," Deutsches Archive fur Erforschung des Mittelalters namens der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, XVII (1961), 366.

Mission to Rome (825)

Not long after he became bishop, Jonas' diplomatic talents were called into play when Louis the Pious sent him with Jeremy, Archbishop of Sens, as a special envoy to Pope Eugene II. Jeremy and Jonas carried an abridged report of the proceedings of the Synod of Paris, held in November, 825.

The Paris Synod had been held in reaction to a new outbreak of the iconoclast controversy in the Byzantine Empire. The Frankish Church became involved when Michael II, "The Stammerer," sent envoys to Louis the Pious to request extradition of certain of his iconodule subjects who had fled to the West to escape persecution.[25]

The report carried by Jeremy and Jonas explained the synod's decisions in the current controversy over the veneration of images.[26] The two bishops were expected to persuade the Pope to approve the moderate position which the synod had taken between the extreme views of iconoclasts and iconodules. A letter from the emperor to the two envoys gave them explicit directions.

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[25] Allen Cabaniss, Amalarius of Metz (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1954), p. 67. See also Carlo de Clercq, La législation religieuse franque, Tome II: De Louis le Pieux a la fin du IX^{e} siècle (814-900) (Antwerp: Centre de Recherches Historiques, 1958), pp. 56-57, 194. Clercq shows from a study of the documents of the 825 council that it was not a council, strictly speaking, but a meeting of a small number of bishops chosen not for their hierarchical rank, but because of their personal relations with the emperor, or their knowledge of the matter of the controversy.

[26] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Part I, 48-49; MGH, Concilia Aevi Karolini, II, 533-535; Mansi, XV, 435.

> To Jeremy and Jonas, venerable bishops--greetings in the Lord.
>
> On December 6, Halitgar and Amalar brought us a collection of writings of the Fathers which were collected for the Paris synod. . . . Before it is sent to Rome, we want you to edit it. . . . Pick out the passages you think best suited to present to the Pope. As you know, we asked his permission to have this collection made by our priest[s], and consequently, we must not neglect to show him what was done with his permission. . . .
>
> Discuss this report with him in a patient, submissive way, being especially careful not to antagonize him . . .
>
> If he lets on to you that he intends to send some envoys to Greece to handle this question, we want you to ask him to permit our own representatives to travel to Greece with his. And if this seems a good idea to him, and he says he would like to follow the plan, then write to us immediately.[27]

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[27] MGH, Concilia Aevi Karolini, II, 532-533. "Hieremiae et Jonae venerabilibus episcopis in Domino salutem. Venerunt ad praesentiam nostram Halitgarius et Amalarius episcopi VIII Idus Decembris, deferentes collectiones de libris sanctorum patrum, quas in conventu apud Parisios habita simul positi collegistis, quas etiam coram nobis perlegi fecimus . . . priusquam de his aliquid domno apostolico indicetis, diligenti cura eadem vos recensere curetis et ea, quae melius et aptius praesenti negotio convenire inveneritis, excerpere atque describere illique ad legendum offerre studeatis, quia ut nostro, nos ab eo petivimus licentiam, quatenus has collectiones a sacerdotibus nostris fieri permitteret, et ideo non poterit praetermitti, quin ei ostendatur quod ex ipsius permissione collectum est. . . . Sed et vos ipsi tam patienter ac modeste cum eo de hac causa disputationem habeatis, ut summopere caveatis, ne nimis ei resistendo eum in aliquam inrevocabilem pertinaciam incidere conpellatis, sed paulatim verbis eius quasi obsequendo magis quam aperte resistendo ad mensuram,

There is no doubt that the Emperor intended to appoint Jeremy and Jonas themselves as envoys to Constantinople, if the Pope could be won over to the plan.[28] In the letters of credentials which the two bishops carried, Louis suggested that Jeremy and Jonas be sent on to Constantinople in an effort to promote harmony between Rome and the East. The letter recommends the two men as both learned and articulate, and goes on to praise their prudence and moderation.[29]

There is no evidence that Jeremy and Jonas were actually sent to Constantinople in fulfillment of Louis' design; nevertheless, the episode of the mission to the Pope is significant for the information it provides about Jonas' position in relation to the Emperor, and the esteem in which Louis held him.

Jonas' own official public view of Louis can be gleaned from the introduction to his Historia

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quae in habendis imaginibus retinenda est, eum deducere valeatis . . . si . . . ille vobis indicaverit quod legatos suos ob eandem causam in Graeciam mittere velit, volumus, ut eum interrogatis, si illi placeat, ut nostri legati pariter cum suis in Graeciam pergant. Et si hoc ei melius visum fuerit seque hoc omnino velle responderit, tunc volumus, ut sub omni festinatione . . . nos inde certos faciatis."

[28] According to Cabaniss, Amalarius of Metz, pp. 68-69, Louis intended to send Halitgar of Cambrai and Amalar of Metz, not Jonas and Jeremy. Cabaniss does not document this statement.

[29] MGH, Concilia Aevi Karolini, II, 534.

translationis Sancti Huberti, in which he describes the ways in which Louis, ruler by the grace of God, has honored his leader, Christ, by his deeds, and particularly by his reform programs for both monks and laity.[30]

Monastic reform efforts

Both the Historia translationis Sancti Huberti and the Vita Sancti Huberti were probably written soon after the transfer of the relics of Saint Hubert from the oratory of Saint Peter in Liège to the monastery of Andain.[31] Jonas was asked to write the two accounts by Walcaudus, Bishop of Liège. It is worthy of note that Jonas used the occasion to write more than the narrative account Walcaudus had requested. In both the Historia and in the Vita, Jonas incorporated material similar to that found in his earlier treatise on Christian ethics, De institutione laicali.

The life and writings of Jonas afford an opportunity to observe the relationship between a bishop and the monks within his diocese during the period of the Aniane reform movement. If Jonas was not a monk himself before he became bishop,[32] at least it is certain that he had a consistent and practical interest in promoting the true interests of monks both within and without his own diocese.

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[30] See Chapter II.

[31] Reviron, p. 31.

[32] Jean Leclercq, La spiritualité du moyen âge (Paris: Aubier, 1961), p. 92, says Jonas was a monk, but offers no evidence.

In 825, the same year in which Walcaudus of Liège celebrated the renovation of a monastery within his diocese by translating to the monastery the relics of Saint Hubert, Jonas, too, was actively promoting the spiritual and temporal good of a monastery in Orléans.

The monastery of Saint Maximin in Orléans had Jonas to thank for continuing the work of building and renovation undertaken by Theodulph, and even more for securing the freedom of electing an abbot without lay interference, in keeping with the reform of Saint Benedict of Aniane.

In 826, a charter issued at Aachen put the imperial seal on a modus vivendi established by Jonas and the monks of Saint Maximin.[33] The charter detailed the rights of both parties. On the advice of his canons, and with the approbation of his metropolitan, Jeremy, the archbishop of Sens, Jonas had the right to re-establish the monastic order in the abbey.

Jonas' predecessor, Theodulph, had simultaneously been Archbishop of Orléans, and Abbot of Saint

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[33] Eugene Jarry (ed.), Chartularium Ecclesiae Aurelianensis vetus (Orléans: Librairie H. Herluson, 1906), xxxi-xxxii, 75-78; Amelung, pp. 9-10.

Maximin, as well as abbot of the largest monastery in the diocese, Fleury-sur-Loire. The 826 charter provided that on the death of the Abbot of Saint Maximin, the bishop was to see that a monk was made abbot.[34]

By the terms of the confirmation charter, the bishop could not abolish the monks' privileges, but neither could the monks withdraw from dependence on the bishop.[35] The charter further provided a system of appeal. In the case of a dispute over the rights of the monks, the matter was to be referred to the metropolitan, the Archbishop of Sens, and next, if necessary, to the emperor, who would lay the matter before a synod of bishops.[36]

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[34] Jarry, p. 76. "Et cum abbas ipsius monasterii rebus humanis exemptus fuerit, providente ejusdem sedis pontifice ac piam paternamque sollicitudinem gerente, eo ordine praeferatur eis abbas, sicut in eodem continetur privilegio."

[35] Jarry, pp. 77-78. ". . . sicut decet et oportet, servare meminerint, nec se putent propter nostram auctoritatem a jure et potestate ipsius ecclesiae substraere [sic] aut easdem res qualibet machinatione alienare posse, praesertim cum et locus et res quibus utuntur, juris sit ipsius ecclesiae, et ab ejus merito pendeat potestate." See Emile Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclesiastique en France, Tome II: La propriété ecclesiastique et les droits régaliens a l'époque carolingienne (Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1926), fasc. II, p. 52.

[36] Jarry, p. 77. "Sed si quispiam praelatorum memoratae sedis praefatam constitutionem contra hanc nostram praeceptionem quodammodo irritam facere ac penitus convellere voluerit, volumus atque decernimus

The monastery of Saint Maximin, for which Jonas showed such a practical pastoral concern, had an active scriptorium in Jonas' time, and it is a reasonable conjecture that it was here that his treatises were actually written.[37] Another flourishing scriptorium within the diocese was at Fleury-sur-Loire, which also laid claim to one of the finest libraries in the empire. A ninth century catalogue of the monastic library shows ninety-five volumes.[38]

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ut res ad noticiam Senonici metropolitae perferatur: quatinus is, adhibitis suae dioceseos suffraganeis episcopis, idem negotium diligenti indagine discutiat et corrigat, et ad statum pristinum, salva memoratae sedis dignitate ac potestate, revocare procuret. Porro si contigerit idem negocium propter aliquam sui difficultatem ab eo minime posse diffiniri, volumus ut ejus relatu nostris successorumque nostrorum auribus res innotescat: videlicet ut nostrae auctoritatis sanctione in generali conventu episcoporum humus constitutionis convulsor corripiatur et corrigatur, ut eorum salubri judicio memorata constitutio pristinum status sui recuperare valeat vigorem."

Compare Jonas' explanation of this procedure in Historia translationis Sancti Huberti. See Chapter II.

[37] Emile Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclesiastique en France, Tome IV: Les livres, "scriptoria," et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII^{e} à la fin du XI^{e} siècle (Lille: Facultés Catholiques, 1938), p. 137.

[38] Georges Chenesseau, L'abbaye de Fleury a Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire: son histoire, ses institutions, ses édifices (Paris: Editions G. Van Oest, 1931), pp. 5-13, 85. Fleury owed its growth partly to its fame as a place of pilgrimage. The relics of Saint Benedict had been translated there from Monte Cassino in the eighth century. Theodulph had a particular attachment for Fleury, and stayed there often. It was he who introduced lay pupils to Fleury. Hostels for nobles and for the poor were also built there during the Carolingian period.

Fifteen years after securing the charter which gave the monastery of Saint Maximin the assurance of an abbot from among their own number, Jonas once more showed his predilection for the monks by procuring for them the relics of their founder.[39] Letald, a member of the community in the tenth century, recalls the influx of nobles to the monastery in the time of Jonas, and gives the impression that they were men who had genuine vocations.[40]

Paris and Saint-Denis (829-832)

In 829, Jonas again was active in affairs transcending the interests of his own diocese, when he played a leading role at the reform council held in Paris in June.[41] It is this synod which can be seen as the high point of his ecclesiastical career and the strongest single proof of his talent for organization and leadership.[42]

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[39] Jarry, p. xl. It was on this occasion that a monk, Bertold, wrote a few lines of verse about Jonas --the closest thing to a description of him by a contemporary. To find Jonas compared to both Vergil and Homer is enough to warn us that the description is highly colored by the monk's enthusiasm for a generous patron. The lines are in a dedication to the life of Saint Maximin, whose relics Jonas had procured for the monks. See Joannes Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedictis (Venice, 1733), I, 573.

"Hoc reverende sacer Jona percurre volumen,
Et male scripta tuo corrige judicio.
Nec votum aspernere pium, studiumve refutes . . .
. . . .
Ingenio siquidem calles, sophiaque redundas,
Ambrosio prudens eloquioque nites.
Alter Homerus enim nostro jam diceris aevo,
Est via cui fandi Publius ipse Maro
Moribus es gratus, nulli pietate secundus,
Es vultu placidus alloquioque gravis.

[40] Mabillon, I, 583-584. See below, Chapter II, Jonas' own apologia for his support of monasticism in De cultu imaginum.

However, there were other problems claiming his attention while he was in Paris in 829. Inchade, the blind bishop of Paris,[43] used the occasion of the synod to make a property settlement with the canons of his church. Among the twenty-four episcopal signatures, Jonas' is the first of the bishops' preceded only by the signatures of the four archbishops who were present.[44]

In the royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, near Paris, there was a scandalous conflict in progress which also claimed the attention of the bishops who had assembled for the Paris council. By this year, the Abbey of Saint-Denis already had a long and illustrious history. Favored by kings in the Merovingian period, in the time of the Carolingians it became a royal abbey until eventually the kings themselves bore the title of lay abbot.[45]

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[41] See Chapter VI, where this council is studied in detail.

[42] Scharf, pp. 383-384.

[43] Robert de Laysterie, Cartulaire générale de Paris ou receuil de documents relatifs à l'histoire et à la topographie de Paris (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1887), I, 51, observes that Inchade's blindness helps establish the authenticity of several documents he signed, and the dates of others. "Signum Inchadi Parisiace civitatis episcopi, qui hoc privilegium pontificali auctoritate fieri jussit, et, ob amissionem luminum, scribere nequivit."

[44] Laysterie, p. 50. The position of Jonas' signature is an indication of the preeminence he held among his fellow bishops. Cf. this observation concerning another document signed by Jonas, in Guyon, p. 222.

It was at Saint-Denis that Pepin was crowned in 754, and that his sons, Carloman and Charles, were anointed. The next year, Charles was present at Saint-Denis for the dedication of the new church. Pepin left orders that he was to be buried there, and thus "sealed the alliance of the abbey and the crown."[46]

The abbots of Saint-Denis became advisers and ambassadors of the king, and the abbey became increasingly wealthy, with holdings in Germany, Italy, and England.[47] A charter attributed to Offa, King of Mercia, confirms possessions of Saint-Denis in London and Hastings in 790.[48]

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[45] Sumner McKnight Crosby, The Abbey of St.-Denis (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 57-62.

[46] Crosby, p. 77.

[47] Joseph Imbart de la Tour, Questions d'histoire sociale et religieuse--époque féodale (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1907), p. 6.

[48] Crosby cites W. H. Stevenson, "The Old English Charters to St. Denis," English Historical Review, VI (1891), 736-742. Stevenson, however, shows that the

The Abbey of Saint-Denis developed into an institution which was not monastic in the sense understood by Saint Benedict Aniane and others interested in monastic reform. Saint-Denis apparently had two communities living side by side, one of secular clergy, and the other of monks. By 825 they were in open conflict. Most of the monks had become canons, and in 829, Hilduin, the abbot, permitted a small number who wanted to lead a true monastic life to depart to a smaller monastery.[49]

In 829, a meeting of bishops at Saint-Denis issued a charter justifying the emperor's right to reform the monastery,[50] and in 832, another charter, this one bearing Jonas' name, defines the monastery's property rights.[51] But between 829 and 832, the

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charter in question cannot be authentic. Nevertheless, he thinks the forgery points to holdings in England. The properties of Saint-Denis were scattered over a wide territory. Cf. David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge: The University Press, 1950), p. 100, n. 1. Professor Knowles notes that an English foundation had come into the possession of Saint-Denis before Domesday, but he gives no date. The case of Saint-Denis was not singular. The neighboring monastery of Saint German-de-Pres had received, sometime between 778 and 829, seven villae in Aquitaine. See Francoise Lehoux, "Privilèges commerciaux carolingiens accordés a l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-de-Pres," Receuil de travaux offert A.M. Clovis Brunel (Paris: Société de l'Ecole des Chartes, 1955), II, 131.

[49] Michel Felibien, Histoire de l'abbey royale de Saint Denys en France (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1706), p. 68.

[50] Reviron, p. 30.

[51] Mansi, XIV, 605-608. Felibien, pp. xlix-li.

secular faction had revolted, and Hilduin, the abbot, had gone into exile.[52] With the support of the Emperor, Aldric, Archbishop of Sens and Jonas' metropolitan, and Ebbo, Archbishop of Reims, met with their suffragans in 831, in an effort to reform the abbey in accordance with a plan of the Council of Paris. The attempt miscarried when some monks fled to the emperor and presented a libelous charge against the reforming bishops. The bishops were vindicated, however, and the monks promised to live by the Benedictine Rule.[53]

The solution of 832 was a compromise measure, dividing the rents of the abbey between the two factions. The monks were allotted a certain amount of property so that they would have economic stability and security in order to live their monastic rule. This arrangement was made in conformity with the Council of Paris of 829, which had recognized lack of support as a chief cause of decadence within monasticism. The charter allotted to the monks certain lands whose revenue would provide clothing, others for the infirmary, repairs, and for the church. The number of monks in the community was to be fixed at one hundred fifty, with the right of increasing the number reserved to the bishop.

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[52] Crosby, p. 77. Hilduin supported Lothair in the revolt against Louis in 830, and this was the cause of his exile. He was later reinstated, and ruled till 841.

[53] Felibien, p. 71.

This act of division of revenues between the abbot and the monks was signed by three archbishops: Aldrich of Sens, Ebbo of Reims, and Otgar of Mainz, and by six bishops: Jonas, and the bishops of Metz, Turin, Paris, Auxerre, and Nantes.[54]

The year after the Saint-Denis settlement of 832, Jonas fixed his signature to a document issued by his metropolitan, Aldrich, Archbishop of Sens. The charter, which guarantees privileges to the monastery of Saint Remigius in Sens, is a remarkable example of a bishop's high sense of responsibility, and helps to an understanding of the climate of opinion in which Jonas lived. It also illustrates one more implementation of the principles enunciated at the Paris Council four years earlier. The charter explains that the bishop is moving the monastery to a new site because the original location can no longer provide an adequate income for the monks. It also specifies that each year the monastery owes the bishop only one knight, unless the bishop is called to support a public war, in which case the monastery must help bear the burden by providing a specified amount of wine and grain.[55]

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[54] Felibien, p. 72. Cf. Emile Lesne, _L'origine des menses dans le temporel des églises et des monastères de France au IX^{e} siècle_ (Paris: Honore Champion, 1910), p. 77. The reign of Louis the Pious was marked by the assignment of specific incomes to monks, even when they had an abbot elected from among their own ranks. Separation of incomes was a protection against exploitation for military and other temporal aids. The abbot might be liable when, according to a charter, the monks were exempt. Thus, the charter under consideration here stated explicitly, "quatenus nulla occasione nec reipublicae servitio quisquam ex successoribus suis impedimentum illis in futuro inferre potuisset."

The meetings of bishops in which Jonas took an active part were held in conditions of continual turmoil within the empire. Between 818 and 840, Louis the Pious resisted one revolt after another on the part of his sons and their supporters. The emperor himself was forced to do public penance in 822 and 833, and was deposed in 833 and restored to power in 834. It is in the context of these troubled times that Jonas wrote the De institutione regia, which had the very pragmatic aim of persuading Pepin, Louis' son who was ruler of Aquitaine, not to attempt another revolt.[56]

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[55] Mansi, XIV, 642. "Jonas Aurelianensis ecclesiae indignus episcopus huic facto adstipulator subscripsi."

As significant as the provisions of the charter is the attitude it reflects. Aldrich writes, 639: "Cum simus igitur in specula ecclesiae constituti, et viam ceteris per quam ingredi ad vitam debeant, debeamus ostendere, quantum posse et intelligere divina clementia dederit, satagendum est ea quae nobis commissa sunt secundum Dei voluntatem provide prudenterque tractare, ut non solum tantum quae dum advivimus in praesenti tempore nostris valeant prodesse subjectis, verum etiam et in perpetuum illis prospecta proficiant."

[56] Odile Boussel, "L'institutio regia de Jonas d'Orléans, un miroir des princes du IX^e siècle" (unpublished thesis, Ecole National des Chartes, Paris, 1964).

When Louis came to Orléans after he had been forced to do public penance the second time, Jonas celebrated the occasion by presenting an ode to his prince.[57] It is more than probable that Jonas was among the number of bishops who remained loyal to Louis in 833 when Pope Gregory IV personally intervened on behalf of Lothair.[58] If it is true that the emperor's party, including Jonas, was excommunicated, this does not seem to have had any effect on Jonas' subsequent career.[59]

Thionville and Fleury (c. 835)

What is certain is that it was Jonas who was appointed in 835 to read the decree which forty-three bishops signed at the Council of Thionville, deposing Ebbo, Archbishop of Reims. That unfortunate prelate had made the political blunder of siding with Lothair in the latter's revolt, and as a result, was deprived of his bishopric.[60]

This same year, Jonas was sent as legate to handle a property dispute for the monks of Fleury-sur-Loire. Two generations earlier, Louis the Pious' grandfather, Pepin the Short, had given a piece of property to the monastery of Fleury.[61] A vassal, Gysleharius, who had surrendered the property, afterwards had brought some of it back under his own control. When Boso, the abbot, brought this to the attention of the emperor, Jonas and another _missus_ were sent to investigate the conflicting claims. On the strength of their report, the dispute was settled in favor of the monastery. Six villas were restored to the monks.[62]

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[57] Guyon, p. 220.

[58] Reviron, pp. 32-33.

[59] Amelung, p. 15.

[60] Guyon, p. 222. Clercq, II, 89-90. Clercq points out that the text of Ebbo's condemnation was actually drafted by Jonas, according to Flodoard, Historia Remensis Ecclesiae, II, 20.

At about this same time, Jonas was co-legate with Donatus, Count of Melun, in a dispute between the monks of Fleury-sor-Loire and the community of Saint-

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[61] Maurice Prou and Alexandre Vidier, _Receuil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire_ (Paris: Documents publiees par la Societe Historique et Archeologique du Gatinais, 1900-1907), I, 45. ". . . avus noster, bonae memoriae Pippinus rex, de salute animae suae ac fratris sui Carolomanni cogitans et de abolendis amborum peccatis beataeque ac perpetuae vitae praemiis consequendis, quandam villam juris sui quae dicitur Suncampus, cum appendiciis et villis et terminis ad se pertinentibus, memorato monasterio sancti Benedicti per auctoritatis suae praeceptum delegasset. . . ."

[62] Prou and Vidier, pp. 45-46. ". . . sed cum ad hanc causam diligentius investigandam nobisque renuntiandam missos nostros, Jonam videlicet venerabilem Aurelianensem episcopum, et Hugonem inlustrem comitem, destinassemus et tam ex eorum relatione quam et ex memorati avi nostri praecepti lectione luce clarius nobis patesceret memoratas villulas de jure saepedicti monasterii injuste abstractas fuisse, placuit nobis pro remedio animae nostrae eas cum omnibus rebus ad se pertinentibus eidem rederre monasterio."

Denis.[63] Whatever was the subject of the dispute, it drew many judges and masters of the law from both sides.[64] The disputants could not reach a decision, because the judges of the Salic law could not understand the ecclesiastical rights of Roman law. Therefore, the legates ordered a change of venue. This, however, did not solve the problem, because the two groups of judges continued to argue according to their own laws. When the arguments had continued for a long time without any satisfactory result, the litigants finally resorted to trial by combat.[65]

Civil war in Orléans

Although Jonas held a position of prestige among his fellow bishops, as evidenced at the Council of Paris in 829 and the synod of Thionville in 835, and though he enjoyed the respect and esteem of Louis the Pious, he was not without serious trouble in his own diocese.

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[63] Martin Bouquet, Receuil des historiens des Gaules et de la France (Paris, 1749), VI, 313.

[64] Bouquet, p. 313. The account is by Adrevaldus, a monk of Fleury, who wrote during the reign of Charles the Bald. ". . . alia iterum oboritur controversia inter praefatum hujus loci [i.e., Fleury] Advocatum, atque Advocatum S. Dionysii. Colliguntur ab utriusque partibus plurimi Legum Magistri et Judices, qui pro partibus decertarent. Praeterea aderant in eodum Placito missi a latere Regis, Jonas Episcopus Aurelianensis, et Donatus Comes Milidunensium."

[65] Bouquet, p. 313. ". . . tandem adjudicatum est, ut ab utraque parte testes exirent, qui post sacramenti fidem scutis ac baculis decertantes, finem controversiae imponerent."

In 836, Eudes, brother of William, Count of Blois, was made Count of Orléans.[66] He replaced Matfrid, for whom Jonas had written the De institutione laicali in the early years of his episcopate. Matfrid and Jonas had been on uneasy terms from 828 on, and in 834, Matfrid had joined in rebellion against Louis, and had followed Lothair into Italy.[67]

Deposed from office, Matfrid did not give up without a struggle. In the war which ensued between Eudes and Matfrid, Eudes appropriated goods of the Church of Orléans, and the abbeys of Saint Aignan and Fleury-sur-Loire, and even forced Jonas and Boso, Abbot of Fleury, to serve in the war in person, and to furnish a number of soldiers. Fortunately for Jonas and his flock, Eudes was killed in the war, and peace was restored to the diocese of Orléans.[68]

Council of Aachen (837)

In February, 837, Jonas was once more busy as notary of a council, this time at Aachen. Though there is no extant list of the bishops who participated in this meeting, there seems no doubt that Jonas would have been among them.[69] In any event, the Council's acts breathe the power of his presence, for they reproduce a large part of the acts of the Council of Paris, 829, where Jonas had been the leading figure in drafting the Council's acts.

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[66] Guyon, p. 222.

[67] Duckett, p. 51.

[68] Guyon, p. 222; Lesne, Histoire, II, 458.

As at the Council of 829, when the assembled bishops gave unmistakable evidence that they were self-confident in their position of strength before Louis, so at Aachen, in 837, they made it clear to Pepin that they would assert their rights. In a *salutaria monita* evidently drafted by Jonas, they called upon Pepin to respect ecclesiastical property.[70]

Saint-Calais dispute

In 838, Louis sent Jonas on a sensitive mission, again involving a dispute between a bishop and a monastic community.

The monastery of Saint-Calais was under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Mans, a city about 115 miles southwest of Paris. During the reign of Pepin the Short, the Bishop of Mans had fallen into disfavor at court, and Pepin had removed the monastery from his jurisdiction and placed it under royal control.[71] In Charlemagne's reign, the bishop was able to get a charter restoring the monastery to his own jurisdiction.[72] The monks, however, were unhappy with the new state of affairs, and by a ruse, were able to get a new charter of exemption from Louis the Pious.[73]

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[69] Reviron, p. 33.

[70] See Chapter II, pp. 83-93.

A serious conflict now existed between Aldrich, the bishop, and Sigismund, abbot of the monastery. Aldrich appealed at a meeting of the court held in Aachen in April, and won his case. The monks were to recognize the bishop as their ecclesiastical superior.

It was shortly after this that Jonas became involved in the matter. Word reached the emperor that the monks refused to accept the Aachen decision. They had left the monastery, and not empty-handed. Jonas received two letters from Louis. It is not clear why a second letter was necessary, nor which one was sent first. The shorter of the two read:

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[71] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Pt. I, 101.

[72] Mansi, XIV, 755-760.

[73] Mansi, XIV, 766. Louis claimed the right to restore the monastery to the bishop on the grounds that he had been deceived by the monks. "Si ego hoc praeceptum fieri jussit, nesciebam quod praedictum monasterium de episcopio Cenomanico esset, et ignorabam quod pater meus iliud ibi per suum praeceptum rederret. Sed quia vos, et pares vestri hoc mihi celastis, et per fraudem et malum ingenium facere suasistis; idcirco ipsum praeceptum quod mihi praecipere fieri dicitis, vestro mendacio infirmatur, quia caussa [sic] ubi fraus intercedit, non valet, sed magis reproba efficitur, et ideo vestrum praeceptum stare non poterit, quia vestro mendacio et vestra fraude funditus destruitur."

> In the name of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, Louis, by divine favor the Emperor Augustus, to the venerable Bishop Jonas--greetings.
>
> We want you to know that news has reached us that when the monks of Saint-Calais fled they robbed the monastery of the furnishings of the church, including vessels, vestments, and books. So we order you and the Abbot Henry[74] to look carefully into this matter, and to see that the property of these churches is completely restored. Since you know what we expect of you, take this task conscientiously, and do not disappoint us. Farewell.[75]

The longer letter carefully outlines the arguments Jonas is expected to use in persuading the recalcitrant monks to return to their monastery.

> In the name of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, Louis, by divine favor Emperor Augustus, to the venerable Bishop Jonas--greeting.
>
> We want you to know that word has reached us that the monks of the monastery of Saint-Calais have abandoned their own monastery, and gone off to some other place. They have forgotten their promises--those promises of stability and obedience,

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[74] Abbot of Saint Maximin. Lesne, Histoire, II, 443.

[75] Bouquet, VI, 350. "Epistola Ludovici Pii Jonae Aurelianensi Episcopo de Monasterio Anisolensi (anno 838). In nomine Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu-Christi, Hludovicus divina repropitiante clementia Imp. Augustus Jonae venerabili Episcopo salutem. Notum esse volumus quia perventum est ad nos quod Monachi ex Monasterio sancti Carilephi in egressu praesumptive idem Monasterium expoliassent ornamentis Ecclesiasticis tam in thesauro quamque in vasis seu vestimentis, necnon et libris. Quapropter tibi praecipimus et Henrico Abbate ut vos omni diligentia illud inquiratis, et cum omni integritate res Ecclesiasticas eidem Ecclesiae restituere faciatis. Vale, ex hoc habeto studium sicut de te bene confidimus, et sicut in hoc nostram cognoscis voluntatem."

> and the fact that they have renounced their own wills, according to the Rule of Saint Benedict. They have also forgotten the Gospel teaching, in which we hear the lesson of the Lord, "I came not to do my will, but the will of him who sent me." Further, they have forgotten the teaching of the apostle, who said, "Be subject to every creature, whether it be to the king as excelling, or to the rulers sent by him." They would not have done what they have done, unless their abbot had cooperated with them.[76]

The letter goes on to explain Louis' reason for returning the monastery to Aldrich's jurisdiction, insisting that it is not contrary to the canons for monks to be subject to their bishop. Then follow the instructions.

> We want you, as our missus, together with Abbot Henry, to compel these monks to obey the canons, and to return to their own monastery. If any one of them refuses to obey you, order him to come to us at our next assembly which we are going to have, God willing, at Quierzy. Farewell--and pray for us.[77]

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[76] Bouquet, VI, 350. "In nomine Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, Hludovicus divina repropitiante clementia Imperator Augustus Jonae venerabili Episcopo salutem. Notum esse volumus quia perventum est ad nos quod Monachi ex Monasterio sancti Carilephi egressi sunt de proprio Monasterio, aliena loca quaerentes, immemores propriae promissionis eorum, in qua promiserunt obedientiam et stabilitatem propriae promissionis loci, atque renuntiaverunt propriis voluntatibus secundum Regulam sancti Benedicti, obliti etiam sententiam Evangelicam in qua Dominicum exemplar audivimus: Non veni, inquit, facere voluntatem meam, sed ejus qui misit me oblitique sunt Apostolicae sententiae ita dicentes: Subjecti estote omni creaturae, sive Regi quasi praecellenti, sive Ducibus tanquam ab eo missis. Et hoc non ob aliud fecerunt nisi quod Abbas eorum nobis inobediens apparuit. . ."

[77] Bouquet, VI, 350. "Quapropter volumus ut Missus noster sis una cum Henrico Abbate, et eosdem

Jonas and Henry's mission was not a success. In September, Sigismund the abbot, and forty monks of the monastery of Saint-Calais appeared at Quierzy to make an appeal. There they claimed they had been thrown out of the monastery by the Bishop of Mans. However, too many of the bishops present at Quierzy had also been present at Aachen in April, and so they knew the other side of the case. Besides, it is easy to see why the bishops would be predisposed to side with a fellow bishop in a case involving a principle of episcopal jurisdiction.[78] Sigismund and his monks were ordered to return to the monastery to do penance. They refused to obey, and were excommunicated.[79]

The story of the struggle between the Bishop of Mans and the monks of Saint-Calais illustrates one

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Monachos plena auctoritate Canonum et regulari atque nostra ad proprium Monasterium redire compellatis. Si vero quispiam eorum vos non obaudierit, volumus ut compellatis eum venire ad nostram praesentiam in proximo Placite, quod habituri sumus Domino annuente apud Carisiacum. Bene vale, et ora pro nobis Dominum."

[78] Julien Havet, "Les actes des évêques du Mans," Revue de la Bibliothèque de L'école des Chartes, LIV (1893), 638. The bishop of Mans also happened to be a favorite of the emperor and his former confessor. The monks hardly stood a chance.

[79] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Pt. I, 102, questions the authenticity of the documents on which the story is based. Cf. Havet, esp. p. 633. Havet concludes that the charter of September 7, 838, is authentic.

of the typical tensions in the ecclesiastical life of the times. All the evidence in the case would seem to indicate that Aldrich, Bishop of Mans, had right on his side in the dispute. However, there had been a major reform of monasticism two decades earlier, and Saint Benedict Aniane and his followers had struggled successfully for the same principle that brought Sigismund and his monks to grief. Not all bishops were good shepherds, and not all abbots were wise fathers. In both offices there were some men who saw in a monastery only the wealth it represented and the organized labor force it commanded, and were not at all interested in the monastic ideal. Jonas was well aware of abuses on the side of both bishops and monks, as his writings indicate. We have no way of knowing how he carried out Louis' wishes in the Mans-Saint-Calais affair. It may well be that he sided with the monks. In any event, even if the letters addressed to Jonas on this matter were later forgeries, they still can serve as an indication of Jonas' reputation as mediator in episcopal-monastic disputes. Otherwise, we are left with the problem of explaining why the Bishop of Orléans' name should be chosen for such a story, be it fact or forgery.

Confirmation charter for Orléans

Concerning the last years of Jonas' life, we know very little. He was able to maintain amicable relations with Charles the Bald, as he had with Charles' father, who died in 840.[80] Sometime between 840 and 843 Jonas interceded with Charles on behalf of the church in Orléans, which apparently had suffered greatly in the civil wars which marked the later years of Louis' reign.[81] Charles responded favorably, and issued a charter confirming the lands and revenues of the church of Orléans.[82] Later generations had good reason to be grateful to Jonas for securing this document, because after the major assault of the Vikings which occurred during the bishopric of Gautier (868-891),[83] it was to Charles' confirmation charter that a later ruler looked when he once more confirmed the properties of the church of Orléans.[84] To the historian, the document has another value. Besides indicating that up to the end Jonas was a faithful shepherd, the charter makes it possible to gain a much more graphic picture of the diocese of Orléans than would otherwise be the case. The text shows that Orléans, in Jonas' time, had twenty cellae besides the monastery of Saint Maximin, and twenty villae.[85]

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[80] Levillain, pp. 99-100. On August 10, Lupus of Ferrières wrote to Jonas to be on the lookout for the emperor, who could be expected to pass through Orléans--if he were still alive.

[81] Guyon, p. 222.

[82] Jarry, pp. 63-66.

[83] Jarry, p. iv. During the episcopate of Gautier the Normans burned the cathedral of Orléans and its dependencies, and many documents and books of the church perished in the fire.

[84] Jarry, pp. 70-71. On August 11, 883, Carloman II confirmed the charter of Charles the Bald.

Lupus of Ferrières' complaint

We can glean several details of the last years of Jonas' life from a letter of Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières, written to Jonas late in 840 or early in 841.[86] Lupus' long letter had two purposes; one was to justify his own behavior towards the abbot he had replaced. The fact that Lupus should have thought it necessary to make such a detailed explanation to Jonas, who was not his own bishop, implies that the good opinion of the Bishop of Orléans was worth courting.

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[85] Jarry, pp. 64-65. The ninth century was a time of intensive church building in France. See Emile Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclesiastique en France, Tome III: L'inventaire de la propriété. Eglises et trésors des églises du commencement du VIII^{e} à la fin du XI^{e} siècle (Lille: Facultes Catholiques, 1936), pp. 92-99. There is no way of knowing exactly where all the cellae mentioned in the charter were. Jarry, p. xxix, thinks they were not all within the neighborhood of Orléans. Joseph Balon, La structure et la gestion du domaine de l'église au moyen âge dans l'Europe des Francs (Namur: Les Anc. Ets Godenne, 1959), p. 124, explains that the Carolingian cella was not necessarily a religious establishment, but might signify simply a more or less compact domain held by a church. Jarry, p. xxxvi, holds that in the charter under consideration, cella is a generic term used to distinguish churches and monasteries from villae, another generic term used to describe properties not having a religious edifice.

[86] Levillain, pp. 114-120.

It is the first part of the letter, however, which is particularly intriguing. Here Lupus complains about one of Jonas' relatives, a certain Agius,[87] who had deprived the abbey of Ferrières of much needed income from lands within the diocese. Lupus explains:

> We were getting from these lands a good measure of wine and grain, and even a little salt. We used the proceeds to buy clothing, and for travelling expenses. It didn't amount to very much, but it was a necessary fund in troubled times like ours. Now our need is such a cause of anxiety that I can think of nothing to say but, "You are my refuge in the tribulations which envelope me." I can find help only from God, and from my friends.[88]

This picture of an abbot writing to Jonas about the necessity of saving for a rainy day is a reminder of one kind of problem that must have crowded the days of the bishop of Orléans.

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[87] Levillain, p. 117, n. 1, "Peut-être le futur évêque d'Orléans." Certainly Jonas' immediate successor bore the name Agius.

[88] Levillain, pp. 116-118. "Fuit autem nobis ibi non contemnenda vini et annonae copia, salis quoque aliquantulum: quae vendita et vestimentorum nobis praebitura erant solacia et in expeditionibus, quae hoc reipublicae turbulento tempore exiguntur, quantulamcumque facultatem argenti. Quarum rerum tantam nunc patior anxietatem, ut illud mihi solum occurrat dicendum: Tu es refugium meum a tribulatione quae circumdedit me. Hinc enim me fratrum vexat inopia, hinc impendenda itineribus vehementer affligit pecunia, et pene omnibus rebus nostris undique aut sublatis aut devastatis, nusquam nisi in Dei amicorumque suffragio auxilium valeo repperire."

A treatise against iconoclasm

Yet administrative details did not absorb all Jonas' time. To the end he kept publishing. It was to the new emperor, Charles the Bald, that Jonas dedicated the last of his works that has come down to us, the treatise De cultu imaginum.[89] While Jonas tells us that his motive in publishing a work he had put aside years ago was his awareness of a resurgence of the iconoclast heresy, we can read between the lines and see a bishop anxious to make a gesture that would please his new prince, who was something of a bibliophile.[90]

This is the last we know of Jonas' active career. There is no certain evidence for the date of his death. That he was no longer bishop of Orléans at the end of 843 can be proved from a document signed that year by his successor, Agius.[91]

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[89] PL, CVI, 305-388.

[90] Lesne, Histoire, IV, 448-449. Among Jonas' contemporaries who dedicated works to Charles were Paschasius Radbertus, his De sacramento sacrae communionis, and John Scotus Erigena, a translation of Dionysius the Areopagite.

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[91] Reviron, p. 43; Levillain, p. 106, n. 2. Joseph Imbart de la Tour, Les élections épiscopales dans l'eglise de France du IX^{e} au XII^{e} siècle (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1891), p. 76, says that the see was vacant till 844, when the bishops chose and consecrated Agius. Earlier, p. 16, he says that Agius was elected in 843, and "le decret est signe par des chanoines et des probabiles laici."

CHAPTER II

PASTORAL WRITINGS

During the more than twenty years of his episcopate, Jonas engaged in all the activities one would expect of a bishop in a strategically located diocese. Though a scarcity of documents prevents a fully developed picture, there is enough evidence to show him as an administrator, builder, judge, and in all these ways as well as in others less tangible, as a spiritual shepherd. It is in his writings that his pastoral role shows very clearly. In this chapter, Jonas' writings are surveyed.

De institutione laicali

While there is no conclusive evidence for the exact date of the composition of De institutione laicali,[1] there is today a consensus among scholars who have studied the problem of Jonas' writings that the treatise was composed before the Council of Paris in 829, and that the sections of the acts of that council which are substantially identical with portions of De institutione

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[1] Jonae de institutione laicali libri tres, PL, CVI, 121-278. Hereafter this work will be cited as DIL.

laicali were borrowed from the treatise, and not the other way around, as was formerly supposed.[2] The treatise is generally thought to have been written after Jonas became bishop of Orléans, and therefore not before 818, and very possibly not before 821.[3]

Jonas himself tells us that the treatise was written for the Count of Orléans, Matfrid, who had requested an instruction on a rule of life for a married man.[4] However, given the form and content of the treatise, it is hardly possible to take this statement at its face value. For one thing, Jonas used the opportunity to give Matfrid much more than the count had asked for. The requested rule of life is contained in a treatise of three books with a total of sixty-nine chapters. Further, the preface addressed to Matfrid is in a style markedly different from that of the body of the work. Like Jonas' other prefaces, addressed to Pepin and Charles the Bald, that to the Count of Orléans may be seen as a literary device used to enhance the work by giving it the prestige of dedication to a well known person. There is internal evidence to support the view that Jonas intended the work for a wide audience in the fact that within the work proper, Jonas never addresses Matfrid in any of his admonitions, but always speaks to the laity in a general way. Beyond this, to suggest a particular audience for the treatise would be pure conjecture. However, it is worth noting that the word audience is here used in its strict meaning. Jonas expects Matfrid, who was not a literate cleric, to listen to a reading of the work, if he cannot read it.[5] This fact helps explain certain characteristics of Jonas' style.

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[2] Scharf, pp. 363-364; Clercq, II, 74, n. 2. Scharf thinks the treatise was written closer to 820 than to 828, arguing that the work reflects a friendly relationship between Matfrid and Jonas, and that this relationship did not last till the end of the decade; he also thinks that the treatise was written under the immediate influence of the Aachen synod of 817. Clercq gives 826 as the earliest possible date for *DIL*, on the basis of some dependence of *DIL*, I, 13, on Canon 35 of the Council of Rome, 826.

[3] Reviron, p. 25. There is no internal evidence in the treatise that Jonas was actually bishop when he wrote it.

[4] *DIL*, 121-122. "Tuae nuper strenuitatis litteras suscepi, quibus meam extremitatem commonefecisti, ut tibi citissime et quam brevissime scriberemus qualiter te caeterosque qui uxorio vinculo ligantur, vitam Deo placitam ducere oporteret."

Andre Wilmart, "Lettres de l'époque carolingienne," *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXIV (1922), 234-245, cites several unedited treatises of the period similar to Jonas' *DIL*. Among these is a letter of spiritual direction written probably by Hrabanus Maurus, and addressed to Judith, the wife of the emperor. See also A. Vernet, "Un nouveau manuscrit du 'Manuel de Duoda,'" *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, CXIV (1956), 18-44. Duoda, a contemporary of Jonas, wrote a rule of life for her son. Other examples of the genre are a letter of Leidradus of Lyons to Charlemagne (*PL*, XCIX, 873-884), and Agobard of Lyons, *Sermo exhortatorius ad plebem*, *PL*, CIV, 267.

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[5] DIL, 124. "Moneo interea tuam experientissimam sagacitatem, et erga Christi famulatum devotionem humillimam, ut hoc crebro legas, aut tibi facias . . . . Si quid vero in hoc opere secus quam debui congessi, per Dominum mihi humiliter peto ignosci. Si quid autem in

The De institutione laicali, though it is lacking in originality, is carefully written. The painstaking care which marks its composition is especially evident in the early chapters of the first book. This can be seen by comparing Book One with the acts of the Council of Paris, 829, which borrow heavily from the treatise.[6]

It has been suggested that Jonas, impressed by the capitula of Aachen, 817, which crystallized the monastic reform effort of Saint Benedict Aniane, ambitioned a parallel rule of life for laymen. In the absence of documentary evidence to support this conjecture, it seems more reasonable to accept Jonas' own statement concerning the end he had in view. He is convinced that the Christian life is more than a matter of public profession of certain beliefs, together with external religious practices, though he in no way minimizes the importance of either. His aim is to help his hearers and readers come to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the Christian mystery. Recognizing that the treasures contained in Scripture and the Fathers are not easily accessible to the untutored layman whose time is consumed in administrative and military affairs, Jonas

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eo legentes, sive audientes, sibi profuturum inesse cognoverint, non mihi, sed Deo, mecum gratias agere meminerint."

[6] Scharf, p. 362.

sees himself urged on by charity to cull passages from Scripture and the Fathers which will serve the purpose of instruction and exhortation.[7]

The De institutione laicali consists of a preface and three books, of twenty, twenty-nine, and twenty chapters respectively. In the manuscripts there is an index capitulorum placed between the preface and Book One.[8]

In the preface, Jonas first presents a rhetorical apology for undertaking a work beyond his powers,[9]

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[7] DIL, 123-124. "Quapropter studii mei fuit pro captu ingenii eloquia divina, sanctorumque Patrum dicta scrutari; ac velut ex diversis pratis diversos flasculos carpere, et quasi in quodam cartallo congerere, tuaeque piae devotioni, nec non et eorum quibus id forte placuerit, hoc commentariolum condere; ut in eo quasi in quodam speculo te assidue contemplari, qualiterque conjugalem vitam honeste ducere debeas, ejus crebra lectione valeas instrui."

Henri de Lubac, Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'écriture (Paris: Aubier, 1959-1961), I, 69, calls attention to this passage as a good exemplification of the ninth century approach to the reading of Scripture and the Fathers. See also Theodulfus Aurelianensis capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes, Mansi, XIII, 999-1000.

[8] The index is not in the edition of D'Achery as reprinted in PL.

[9] DIL, 123. ". . . conscius imbecillitatis et imperitiae meae, magis reniti quam obsequi prius statueram; quoniam me ad hoc conficiendum imparem minusque idoneum sentio: magnam namque petitio tua et inertia mea in corde meo conflictationem generaverunt: illa scilicet ut idem opus aggrederer persuadendo, haec autem ne tanti ponderis discrimen subiretur abnuendo."

Jonas should not be taken too seriously here. The expression of modesty is a stock literary device of the period. Cf. Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (New York: Harper and explains that he will draw his teaching from the traditional sources. He then anticipates and answers the objection that all this has been done before, and that his work is therefore superfluous.[10] He concludes with an overview of the work and instructions for using the treatise to the greatest advantage.

The index capitulorum found in the manuscripts is not without significance in the light of Jonas' recommendation that the book be read or listened to frequently. The De institutione laicali was intended as a book of material for meditation, and the index served the practical purpose of helping to locate a topic in a work lacking logical organization. In the index, the contents of each chapter is summarized.[11]

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and Row, 1963), p. 85; H. M. Rochais, "Contribution à histoire des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen âge latin," La Revue Bénédictine, LXIII (1953), 264; Luitpold Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices," The Harvard Theological Review, XLVIII (1955), 177-178; Cabaniss, Amalarius of Metz, p. 28.

[10] DIL, 124. "At si quispiam objicere voluerit, frustra et ex superfluo in hoc opusculo meam desudasse parvitatem, praesertim cum modus vitae Christianae in legalibus, propheticis, evangelicis, apostolicis constet dictis; perfecteque in sermone Domini in monte habito, ut beatus ait Augustinus, idem digestus sit modus: noverit quod prisci Patres sylvam sanctarum Scripturarum penetrantes, diversos atque innumeros sanae fidei ex ea ramos praeciderint, e quibus ob multorum utilitatem, et divinae servitutis honorem salutiferas formulas ediderint, e quibus etiam consistit Christo quae devote famulatur, canonica atque monastica institutio."

[11] Vaticana Latina 990. "[Book One, Chapter II] Quod in baptismate vetus homo exuatur, et novus induatur

In four manuscripts the index includes a chapter, "De principibus," which is not found in the body of the text in any of these same manuscripts.[12]

Amelung has proposed a division of the work which corresponds to his analysis of the contents of the treatise, but which is not identical with the division found in the manuscripts and evidently arranged by Jonas himself.[13] The treatise is divided as follows in the edition of D'Achery, reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia Latina*:

Book One

Chapters 1-4	The fall of man, and his restoration by baptism
Chapter 5	Seven ways in which sins are forgiven

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et $\overline{\text{xpo}}$ commoriatur, et consepeliatur. [Book One, Chapter VIII] Quod parvuli instruendi sint, cum ad intelligibilem aetatem venerint et fidei sacramento, et baptismatis mysterio, et septiformis gratiae $\overline{\text{sps}}$ dono."

[12] Vaticana Latina 990; Cologne 184; London, British Museum Add. 10,459; Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale 2398. In each of these manuscripts, the chapter is listed in the index as Chapter XXX of Book Two. In the London manuscript, the chapter number is indicated, but not the title. The chapter is not found in the printed editions, since these are based on one or other of the above manuscripts. Solution of this problem will depend on the location and study of further manuscripts of *DIL*. For one implication of this problem, see *infra*, Chapter VII, pp. 311-312.

[13] Amelung, p. 48.

Chapters 6-8	Responsibilities of baptismal sponsors, and the importance of the anointing by the bishop as the complement of baptism
Chapters 9-10	Confession and penance
Chapters 11-15	Public and private prayer
Chapter 16	Extra-sacramental confession
Chapters 17-20	The relationship of interior and exterior actions, and the moral implications of the Christian faith

Book Two

Chapters 1-13	Instructions on Christian marriage
Chapters 14-16	Reciprocal obligations of parents and their children
Chapters 17-18	Proper dispositions for assisting at Mass and for receiving Holy Communion
Chapters 19-21	Relations between clergy and laity
Chapters 22-29	Special responsibilities of the powerful and the wealthy

Book Three

Chapters 1-9	Christian virtues and their opposite vices
Chapters 10-20	Works of mercy, and their relationship to man's last end

The structure of the chapters follows a regular pattern: (1) the chapter title or summary (identical with that of the index as found in the manuscripts); (2) a brief explanation of the topic of the chapter, usually in the words of Jonas himself; (3) passages from Holy Scripture explaining the topic; (4) selections from the Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, and occasionally from the acts of councils or from sacred canons; (5) a conclusion and frequently a practical application in Jonas' own words.

Jonas is careful to name his sources, and generally gives direct quotations from them.[14] In Book Three he occasionally paraphrases a passage; never does he make a general reference to the authorities on whom he relies. It is impossible to know how far Jonas used the actual works of the authors he cites, and when he culled passages from florilegia.[15]

Holy Scripture is Jonas' first and most favored source. Direct quotations from the Old Testament occur in sixty-one, and quotations from the New Testament in sixty-four of the sixty-nine chapters. Frequently these quotations are incorporated in passages from a commentary; however, in certain chapters there is evidence of the author's own considerable research in Holy Scripture to find passages pertinent to a given topic.[16]

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[14] For Jonas' high standards, see _infra_, p. 105, n. 134.

[15] Reviron, pp. 60-61. See R. Amiet, "Une 'Admonitio synodalis' de l'époque carolingienne: étude critique et édition," _Medieval Studies_, XXVI (1964), 74-77.

[16] E.g., Book Two, Chapters 14 and 24; Book Three, Chapters 4, 16, 17, 20.

Of Greek authors, Jonas shows knowledge only of Origen, Saint John Chrysostom, and Eusebius, and these he used probably in Latin translation. Origen is cited only six times, and only in Book One. Saint John Chrysostom is used twice in the first book and once in the second; there is a single reference to Eusebius in Book Two.

Of Latin writers, Jonas uses Saint Cyprian, Lactantius, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Jerome, Saint Cesarius of Arles, Julianus Pomerius, Saint Gregory, Saint Isidore of Seville, Saint Bede, and Alcuin.[17] Saint Augustine and Saint Gregory are the two Jonas finds most suited to his purpose. In forty-one chapters there are passages attributed to the writings of Saint Augustine, and in thirty-seven passages, to Saint Gregory. Saint Jerome is used heavily also, especially in the chapters on marriage in Book Two. Saint Ambrose is cited much less frequently than the other three great Western doctors, and only in the second book.

Jonas has a marked liking for Saint Bede, a fact of some significance in view of the fact that Bede is a modern author by Jonas' standards, and Jonas is inclined to take a dim view of all things "in nostro tempore moderno." While it is Bede's commentaries on Holy Scripture that are most often used, there is also a reference to the Ecclesiastical History.[18] On the other hand, Jonas gives no indication of any acquaintance with Saint Gregory of Tours, or other chronicles of the Franks.[19]

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[17] Julianus Pomerius and Alcuin are of particular importance among Jonas' sources. Cf. _infra_, Chapter III, pp. 165-173.

The single reference to Alcuin in the third book is important because it is one of the clearest indications of the frame of reference in which Jonas placed his own treatment of Christian morality, at least by the time he came to write the third book. Further, Jonas' use of Alcuin, even more than his use of Saint Bede, shows that for all his literary conservatism, he was not alien to the contemporary or near contemporary pastoral writings akin to his own. For Jonas, Alcuin is the "venerable master."[20]

An interesting point of style favored by Jonas, possibly as an aid to remembering the topic of the chapter, is his frequent use of antithesis to introduce a new topic.[21] Reviron has noted that there are certain peculiarities of diction which are helpful in establishing the authenticity of Jonas' works.[22] Occasionally, Jonas betrays his own emotional response to a subject he is treating, and usually this appears as anger in the face of injustice.[23]

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[18] The passage is a quotation from Book One, Chapter 27. This, in turn, is a quotation from a letter of Pope Saint Gregory to Saint Augustine of Canterbury.

[19] Saint Gregory of Tours was not ignored by Jonas' contemporaries. Amalar of Metz quotes Gregory in the _Liber officialis_. See Cabaniss, _Amalarius of Metz_, p. 17.

[20] _DIL_, 247.

It is characteristic of the work that the original passages introducing the selections chosen from Scripture and the Fathers are longer and more fully developed when Jonas is making an application to some situation with which he is familiar. These passages are of particular value for a study of social history.

In citing passages from Scripture, Jonas does not always place quotations from the Old Testament before those from the New Testament. He makes little or no attempt to show a relationship between the two, though he recognizes certain areas in which a lesson he is trying to explain is distinctively Christian, having no counterpart in the Old Law.[24] Though he is undoubtedly aware of the fourfold interpretation of Scripture, he seems little concerned about it for his own purposes.[25] It would be an exaggeration to see in Jonas' use of the Old and New Testaments a collection of proof texts. Nevertheless, it becomes clear, upon a careful examination of the treatise, that Jonas has not quite adhered to the program he outlined in the preface, where he saw himself as a kind of editor and popularizer of the great works of revelation and tradition. Instead, he chooses, almost at random, short passages, and frequently only single lines, to add authority to his arguments. If the passages provide illumination as well, this seems secondary.

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[21] E.g., DIL, 128, 133, 192.

[22] Reviron, p. 45, n. 4.

[23] E.g., DIL, 138-139 (Jonas is here speaking of public sinners): "o interfector! o flagitiose! heri illud et illud admisisti; et hodie collegio nostro, sanguine proximi tui cruentatis manibus te impudenter inseris: et, quod majoris est impudentiae, nobiscum participare non trepidas corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi? Quod dico plus usu quam voto expertus sum."

Vita Sancti Huberti

In 825, the relics of Saint Hubert were transferred to the monastery of Andian. Walcaudus, Bishop of Liège, wanted a well-written life of Saint Hubert to mark the occasion, and asked Jonas to produce the desired *Vita Sancti Huberti*.[26] The current version of the Saint's life was one in barbarous Latin, written by a contemporary of Saint Hubert in the eighth century.[27] Walcaudus asked Jonas to rewrite this work in a more literary style.

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[24] This is notably the case in his treatment of fidelity in marriage. Cf. *DIL*, 174 and 192.

[25] *DIL*, 257. "Vineam quae tropologice animam nostram significat . . ."

[26] *Vita secunda Sancti Huberti et corporis ejus*

Jonas complied with the request, and introduced his work with a dedication and a preface in which he explains something of his methodology. This dedication and preface are valuable for what they tell us of Jonas' attitude toward his own work.

He recognizes that men of his own time, "modern minds," are moved to imitate outstanding men by reading their lives.[28] He also knows that the style should suit the subject, and has misgivings about his own literary abilities. He is quite sure that Walcaudus has asked this favor only as a token of friendship, and remarks with some humor that he is reminded of a saying he learned years ago: love is blind.[29] He

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translatio ad monasterium andaginiense, in the Acta Sanctorum Novembris, ed. C. de Smedt, G. van Hooff, and J. de Backer (Paris, 1887), I, 806-816. Cited hereafter as VSH.

[27] Vita prima Sancti Huberti auctore anonymo coaevo, in the Acta Sanctorum Novembris, I, 798-805.

[28] VSH, p. 806. "Cum animus modernorum venerabilium praesulum ad imitationem excitatur Deo placentium priscorum sacerdotum, id maxime fieri reor ex assidua lectione sanctissimae vitae eorum."

[29] Ibid. "Quam vestra benigna paternitas a nostra parvitate corrigi et secundum regulas loquendi

would say no if he could, but since he must comply he asks,

> . . . if you find anything at all well done in this work will you please thank Christ, the Giver of all good things; but if it is otherwise than you had intended, attribute the flaws to my inability and ignorance, and, if I may venture the remark, to your own poor judgment [in asking me].[30]

Jonas insists that he really should not be given credit as author of the work, because he is only rewriting an earlier life by a man who knew the facts about Saint Hubert, but who was not a trained writer. "We trust his account," Jonas explains, "and will not add new material."[31] He asks Walcaudus to give the work only to those who will profit by it, and not to the envious and proud critics who will only want to tear it apart, and makes a point of mentioning that he is more interested in the story than in the style, and

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voluit constringi. In qua re vestram admiror vehementer prudentiam, quia, cum adsit vobis palatina scholasticorum facundia, a me vix vel tenuiter scientiam communem litterarum sciente id fieri voluistis. Quod etsi nescio cur acciderit, sententia cujusdam me edoceri puto, qui dixit amantum semper caeca esse judicia. Ideoque quia plurimum, licet nullis meritis praecedentibus, me a vestra pia paternitate diligi, scio, ad hoc opus me idoneum amore privato judicari cognosco."

[30] VSH, p. 806. ". . . si quid vero secus quam decet, id impossibilitati meae atque insipientiae attribuere et, ut pace vestra dixerim, vestrae jussioni paene indiscretae."

[31] Ibid. "Fidem ergo dictorum illi attribuimus, nec alia cudimus quam ab ejus relatione comperimus."

does not intend to avoid ordinary language when this helps him get his point across.[32]

An interesting feature of the Vita Sancti Huberti is the index capitulorum placed at the head of the work, a device similar to that used in the De institutione laicali, where Jonas may well have intended the chapter headings to be memorized.[33] In the Vita Sancti Huberti, the chapter titles are probably intended as reference aids rather than as aids to memorization. In either case, the orderly arrangement bears witness to Jonas' talent for organization, and helps to explain his position of leadership in drafting the Acts of the Council of Paris in 829 and those of Aachen in 836. The significance of the indices, a seemingly small detail, can be appreciated when manuscripts of Jonas' works are compared with other works of the same period, in which the reader is given no assistance in locating topics in the body of the text.

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[32] VSH, p. 806. "Vestrum tamen erit, hunc nostrum qualemcumque laborem devotis quibusque pro utilitate legendum committere, et non superborum superciliis subsannandum invidorumque dentibus corrodendum exponere; et laborem quem vestrae jussioni parentes in eo habuimus, orationem retributione compensare. . . . Nec vereor rusticitati imminentes grammaticorum ferulas, cum mihi non sit animo orationem oblinere rethoricae melle dulcedinis vel dialecticis adstringere nodis, aut declamationibus ludere concinis [comicis], sed potius veritatem qualibuscumque perstringere verbis."

[33] The index, which is probably Jonas' own work, is found in seven of the eleven manuscripts on which the Bollandist edition is based.

A comparison of Jonas' version of the life of Saint Hubert with the earlier text he was revising shows that he followed the plan he had outlined in the dedication and preface. However, Jonas used the work as an opportunity to develop, in a very pointed way, the ideal of the bishop as the good shepherd. Here there is a clear use of hagiographical writing for purposes political as well as pastoral. Jonas was aware of the inherent dangers in a situation which called on a bishop to play the double role of temporal ruler and spiritual shepherd, and he used the life of the saintly bishop, Hubert, to enforce the ideal found in Saint Gregory the Great's _Liber pastoralis curae_. He wanted Walcaudus, and every other bishop who may read his work, to find there a practical rule of life.

The _Vita Sancti Huberti_ follows the familiar pattern of medieval hagiography, extolling the Saint's virtues, narrating a succession of miracles which testify to his holiness, and then describing in detail his last days and death. Attention is called to the Saint's zeal in preaching.

> He followed the command of the apostle, preaching in season and out of season. The Holy Spirit had given him such felicity of speech, that people

> came to hear him not only from the neighborhood, but even from great distances.[34]

Jonas summarizes what he has related of the virtues of Saint Hubert when he comes to a description of his funeral.

> Men and women of all ages, farmers, including the very poor, wept openly and struck their breasts, crying, Ah, what will become of us now? We have lost our most loving protector in all our troubles, he who was there to console us in our sorrows, who had pity on us when we were in need, who was the protector of orphans and widows, and who was also so learned in heavenly matters.[35]

It is, indeed, an eloquent speech put on the lips of a motley crowd, and unverifiable as it is that the flock of Saint Hubert ever said it, it is just as likely that it expresses the ideal Jonas wished to hold before his fellow bishops.

The improvement in style over the work of his predecessor can be seen only by comparing parallel passages of the two works. Both authors give the deathbed exhortation of the dying Saint. In Jonas' version Saint Hubert says:

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[34] VSH, p. 810. "Instabat juxta apostoli mandatum praedicans opportune importune. Tantaque eum verbi gratia et dulcedine sermonis virtus Spiritus sancti donaverat, ut non modo e vicinis, verum e longinquis . . . concurrerent . . ."

[35] VSH, p. 814. "Omnis aetas, uterque sexus, curvus arator pannosusque bubulcus, dolorem lacrimis confessi, accedentes atque eminus [sic] salutantes, pugnis etiam pectora verberantes, proclamabant: Eh heu! quid nobis jam nunc restat salutis? En destituimur periclitantes benignissimo periculorum nostrorum propulsatore, qui doloribus nostris consolator aderat, inopiaeque miserator, orphanorum ultor, viduarum defensor, doctrinaeque caelestis eximius doctor. Hujus praesentia diaboli fugabatur saevitia, seculi calcabatur pompa, et in uno isto omnia nobis erant doctrinae atque operis sancta emolumenta."

> Mi perdilecti atque amantissimi filii, Christum jam nunc pro meis intervenite fragilitatibus. Jam enim terminus irrevocabilis vitae meae adest, quo jubeor luteum hoc habitaculum linquere et rationem ante judicem actuum meorum positurus apparere. Et quia me imparem tanto examini, obstitente meorum mole peccaminum, persentio, utpote cui exeunti vitiorum acies tristesque phalanges offensionum occurrent, peto, precum vestrarum clypeos opponite, et ut piam Christi majestatem propitiam habere merear deposcite.[36]

A century earlier, Saint Hubert's biographer, who commanded only a barbaric Latin, had written:

> Boni viri et amabilis, obsecrate Christum pro me. Jamque adest dies in quo judici meo praesentandus apparebo. Quid faciam? Nihil boni gessi in hoc seculo, omnibus sceleribus et peccatis vallatus coartor, pro quibus Domino, ut veniam merear, obsecro, supplicate.[37]

Historia translationis Sancti Huberti

The Historia translationis Sancti Huberti[38] provides another good example of Jonas' use of the pen for a purpose at once pastoral and political.

The account opens with Jonas' reasons for adding this work to his life of Saint Hubert.[39] Immediately following is a panegyric of Charlemagne, an interesting example of the kind of writing which fostered the legend which was already growing around the memory of the dead emperor.[40]

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[36] VSH, p. 816.

[37] Vita prima Sancti Huberti auctore anonymo coaevo, p. 802.

[38] Historia translationis Sancti Huberti, in the Acta Sanctorum Novembris, I, 817-818. Cited hereafter as HTSH.

Next, praise is heaped on Louis. Jonas deftly incorporates a clear statement on a cardinal principle of his own political theory. "After him [Charlemagne], Louis, his glorious son, received the imperial sceptre which was his by right, given to him by God."[41] This is followed by a summary description of Louis' reform program, in which specific mention is made of his regulations for bishops, monks, and the laity. The role of bishops is given pointed attention.

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[39] HTSH, p. 817. "Abhinc autem, quomodo qualiterve, monente, immo compellente Christi honore et amore, crescente etiam atque flagrante erga divinum cultum piissimamque sanctorum Dei venerationem fidelium devotione, sub piissimo Deoque amantissimo Hludowico imperatore, in transferendo memorati et saepe memorandi sanctissimi viri corpore sit actum, breviter fideliterque constat esse subnexum."

[40] Ibid. "Anno siquidem octingentesimo tertiodecimo felicissimae incarnationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, exempto rebus humanis famosissimo imperatore Carolo, victoriosissimo, piissimo, auguste, qui regni Francorum spatia longe lateque dilatavit et Christi gloriam in suis finibus ampliavit, insuper et multarum gentium caecitatem quanta potuit virtute perculit ereptasque profundis tenebris lucis claritate conspicua redidit."

[41] Ibid. "Hludowicus gloriosus filius ejus sceptra imperialia sibi debita atque a Deo tradita post eum feliciter suscepit."

Jonas explains that under Louis' careful rule the laity protect the peace, by arms if necessary, the monks keep clear of secular business and give themselves to prayer, and the bishops "keep a watch over all the rest, indeed, in order that no one will depart from his proper station in life, either deliberately, or through force of circumstances. . . ."[42]

The description of the bishops' functions provides a natural transition to the next section, in which Jonas praises Walcaudus for his outstanding cooperation with Louis' reform program. Here it is quite clear that besides praising his literary patron, Jonas' purpose is to draw a graphic picture of a model bishop.

> He [Walcaudus], partly because he was inspired by divine grace and the thought of his reward, and partly because he was moved to action by the advice of our most sacred prince, showed the greatest eagerness to ennoble the flock given to him by God by leading them always from what was good to what was better. He also determined that if he found anything that needed correction he would work vigorously for its improvement.[43]

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[42] HTSH, p. 817. ". . . episcopalis autem ordo, ut his omnibus superintenderet, scilicet ut si qui ab his aut voluntate aut necessitate deviarent, eorum sollerti judicio prudentique consilio ad lineam rectitudinis correcti redirent."

[43] Ibid. "Is [i.e., Walcaudus] enim partim divinitatis instinctu et mercedis intuitu, partim vero hujus sacratissimi principis talibus monitionibus incitatus, studebat magnopere plebem sibi a Domino traditum bonorum operum exercitiis nobilitare et de

Among Walcaudus' projects was the restoration of the abbey of Andain. Jonas explains that Walcaudus found the once flourishing monastery almost in ruins, and with almost no community. The bishop proved his devotion by having the abbey rebuilt practically from the foundations and enriching it with treasure. He himself, says Jonas, helped instruct the monks who were installed in the rebuilt monastery, and his efforts were blessed with abundant fruit.[44]

It is quite clear that Jonas' purpose is to praise his literary patron, Walcaudus, and also to draw a graphic picture of a model bishop.

Among the monks who flocked to the new monastery in search of a more regular religious life were many from the collegial church of Liège. The monks were content in their new home, but missed their relics

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bonis ad meliora semper evehere, ac si quid in episcopio suo resedisset emendatione dignum, totis nisibus in meliorem statum recuperare."

[44] HTSH, p. 817. "Unde inter cetera, quae emendationem postulabant, obtulit se ejus munificentiae cella quaedam, antiquo nomine vocata Andagium, qui olim quidem inhabitatoribus habitus canonici floruit, sed per excessum temporis vetustate nimia collapsa et deficientibus habitatoribus paene fuerat annullata. . . . Adductis namque regularis vitae optimis praeceptoribus, monasticae ordinem vitae eos edocuit, et bonorum operum exercitiis operam dare, tam voce propria quam et lectione divina suasit. Unde et actum est ut ejus studium non inani labore cassaretur, sed super optimam terram jacto verbi semine, citius centuplicato verbi foenore fructus multiplicaretur."

of Saint Hubert, left behind in the collegial church of Saint Peter. Would the bishop give permission for the relics of the Saint to be brought over to Andian "for their own consolation and the Saint's greater glory?"[45]

Walcaudus agreed that the idea was a good one, but to test the monks and to avoid a subsequent charge of hasty action, he made them wait almost three years.[46] Meanwhile, the bishop was busy getting the necessary permissions. First, recognizing the need for prudent advice, he consulted his metropolitan, Adebald, Archbishop of Cologne.[47] Together, the two bishops approached the emperor. He, in turn, said this matter was beyond his competence and outside his sphere of jurisdiction, and referred it to a gathering of bishops in Aachen.[48]

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[45] HTSH, p. 817. ". . . ob sui consolationem et confessoris Domini ampliorem honorem . . ." Jonas discusses the matter of relics at greater length in his treatise De cultu imaginum. See infra, pp. 94-103.

[46] HTSH, p. 818. "Attamen, ne incaute ac passim, levitatis errore dictante, id fecisse videretur, ferme tribus annis eorum petitionem distulit."

[47] Ibid. ". . . prudenti consilio cuncta peragens, Adelbaldum venerabilem virum, metropolitem suum, super hac re consuluit."

[48] Ibid. "Qui et ipse gloriosus atque invictus augustus, considerans rem pergrandem atque paucorum vires magnitudine sui transcendentem, ad consilium venerabile episcoporum, quod tunc temporis apud Aquisgrani congregatum erat, statuit conferendum, et quid de his esset agendum a sententia sancti conventus magnopere flagitandum."

It was the episcopal synod which finally gave the necessary permission for the transfer of the relics.

It is quite clear that up to this point in his narrative, Jonas has shown much less interest in the story of the transfer of the relics than in giving his readers lessons on the proper relationship of bishop to metropolitan, and of bishop to emperor. He is careful to point out that a good bishop does everything of importance with advice, and that he recognizes his metropolitan's jurisdiction over him in ecclesiastical affairs. The emperor, too, is given a lesson on his limitations. He must recognize that some matters are both beyond his competence and without his jurisdiction. Finally, Jonas wants to highlight the importance of the regional episcopal synods which at that time were playing such an important part in the affairs of the realm.[49]

In the remaining portion of the _Historia translationis_, only about one-fourth of the narrative, Jonas finally gives the story of the transfer of the relics to their new location in the monastery. Here, Jonas is impressed by a miracle that took place on that occasion. The body of Saint Hubert was found incorrupt, and Jonas thinks it would be exceedingly improper to keep silent about such an evident manifestation of God's favor.[50]

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[49] See Chapter VI.

De institutione regia

The work of Jonas which has been the object of most attention within the past thirty-five years, and the only one to be critically re-edited, is the short treatise De institutione regia.[51] Though the treatise is primarily moral and pastoral, it includes one of the earliest and most clearly articulated treatments of the nature and functions of civil power when that power is vested in a Christian king.[52] It also gives an interpretation of the Gelasian formula during the critical period of the breakup of the Carolingian empire.

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[50] HTSH, p. 818. "Sed quoniam insignia Christi miracula, quibus multifariam sanctos suos glorificat, nullo modo sunt occulenda, sed magis magisque, quantum fari mortalibus datur, ob ejus laudem et gloriam propagandam, fideliter praeconanda, valde indecens indignumque judicavimus ut ejus magnificentiam, quae nostro seculo circa memorati sancti viri cadaver mirabiliter effulsit, silentio tegamus."

[51] Jean Reviron, Les idées politico-religieuses d'un évêque du IX^{e} siècle, Jonas d'Orléans et son "De institutione regia"--étude et texte critique (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1930). Cited hereafter as DIR.

Andre Wilmart, "L'admonition de Jonas au roi Pepin et le florilege canonique d'Orléans," Revue Benedictine, XLV (1933), 214-233, is very critical of this edition, which is, however, the only one published which is complete. Wilmart points out, p. 215, that the title De institutione regia was given only in the sixteenth century. According to a ninth century manuscript, the work is entitled Admonitio Jonae episcopi ad Pippinum.

[52] Reviron, p. 114. "En outre, il se préoccupera du salut des âmes plus que des problèmes qui intéressent la constitution du royaume et la théorie du

Jonas, in his attempt to construct a Christian theory of royal power, tends to see only religious aspects of the problem, with the consequence that he takes a very moralistic view of kingship. In this he is typical of his time. The Carolingian theorists thought they had adequately described the king when they called him God's chosen. What followed, of course, was that the king's power was seen as power delegated by God.[53] In such a view there was no opposition between Church and State; there was hardly a distinction, since such a distinction would not have reflected the facts of the ninth century. The Carolingians recognized a dualism in power, not in society.[54]

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pouvoir. Aussi, son traité De Institutione Regia, qui contient la presque totalité de ses textes politico-religieux, est-il un ouvrage de morale, et de morale religieuse, plus que de politique proprement dite. La politique n'y est qu'un chapitre de la morale."

[53] Supra, p. 65, and DIR, p. 155: "Quod regnum non ab hominibus, sed a Deo, in cuius manu omnia regna consistunt, detur."

[54] Ferdinand Lot and Robert Fawtier (eds.), Histoire des institutions francaises au moyen âge, Tome III: Institutions ecclésiastiques, par Jean-Francois Lemarignier, Jean Gaudemet, et Guillaume Mollat (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1962), pp. 3, 10-11, 84-85. "Une seule société et non plus deux, deux hiérarchies, symetriques et conjointes, celle de

The most probable date for the composition of De institutione regia is 831.[55] Aiming to prevent Pepin from revolting against his father, the emperor, the method Jonas chose was that of persuasion, basing his arguments on the divine law which commands filial honor and respect.[56] However, the treatise is not in the form of an ad hoc argument, and it would be difficult, if not impossible, to explain much of it as a work intended for Pepin alone.

The De institutione regia consists of an introductory epistle addressed to Pepin, and seventeen chapters, each developing a topic related to the general theme, which is a rule of conduct for a Christian king. Five of the chapters are found in Jonas' earlier work, De institutione laicali, while all but the introductory epistle and the final chapter are incorporated in the

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l'Église et celle des pouvoirs dans l'État, au sommet, un roi . . . gouvernant avec l'épiscopat, cherchant a promouvoir la justice de Dieu au sens augustien . . ." (p. 3).

[55] Scharf, p. 370.

[56] Marcel David, La souveraineté et les limites juridiques du pouvoir monarchique du IX^{e} au XV^{e} siècle (Paris: Librairie Dalloz, 1954), pp. 107-109, notes that in trying to guide the conscience and conduct of kings, the Carolingian bishops exercised moral, not juridical power. Though they threatened excommunication, they rarely exercised this power. Scharf, p. 371, suggests that Jonas may have been asked to write DIR by the emperor himself.

acts of the Council of Paris, 829, but not in the same order in which they appear in the treatise.[57]

The introduction to the treatise is in the form of a personal letter to Pepin. Jonas thanks Pepin for not being prejudiced by Jonas' enemies, who, motivated by hatred, have tried to ruin the bishop's reputation.[58] Jonas is aware that Pepin has many to give him good advice, yet "it did not seem out of place or superfluous for me to presume to offer you, my lord, a small gift of counsel from the treasury of my heart."[59]

The advice offered is within the traditional Christian pattern. Pepin should not be swept off his

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[57] Chapters XI-XIV of *DIR* are taken from the following books of *DIL*:

DIR		*DIL*
XI	......	I, cap. XXII
XII	......	I, cap. XIX
XII-XIV	......	I, cap. XI, XIII, XIV
XV	......	I, cap. XIV

Chapter II, *DIR*, is similar to I, cap. XXI, *DIL*.

[58] *DIR*, p. 123. ". . . propter blasphemias, et obprobria, atque mendacia quorundam pravorum hominum, qui meam extremitatem apud serenitatem vestram astu diabolico, odio et invidia pleno, persepe diffamaverunt, me corpore, non animo, subtraxerim.. . ."

[59] *DIR*, p. 124. ". . . non absurdum debet videri, nec subsicivum haberi exiguum admonitionis munusculum, quod ex modico pectoris mei thesauro vobis domino meo porrigere presumo."

Jonas, as bishop of Orléans, was not one of Pepin's subjects, and therefore not a counsellor *ex officio*. He may well have known Pepin in the days before he became bishop of Orléans, since Jonas was an Aquitanian.

feet by the riches and honors of his station.

> I humbly remind Your Highness to consider carefully that time is running out, and that when the lights of this world finally go out, so, too, will all earthly joys come to an end.[60]

This truth applies to all the faithful, says Jonas, and each man must struggle to remember that he is only a wayfarer here, and has no lasting city.[61] This should help him not to become possessive in his attitude to the things he uses. Jonas is sure that a man cannot enjoy the best of both worlds.

> Let us face the fact that the friendship of the world is incompatible with the friendship of God, as James the apostle testifies, when he says, 'Whoever wants to be a friend of this world is God's enemy.' It is crystal clear from this, that no friend of God should cultivate the friendship of this world. . . . What a miserable and regrettable thing it is when a man loses eternal friendship, and his Creator Himself, because of the deadly friendship of one of God's enemies.[62]

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[60] DIR, p. 124. ". . . moneo humiliter celsitudinem vestram ut sedulo perpendatis qualiter tempora mundi perpete cursu preterlabantur, et quod eius gaudia omnibus mortalibus luctu finiantus . . ."

[61] DIR, p. 126. "Igitur quis uniuscuiusque fragile luteumque habitaculum, quo peregrinatur, cito est solvendum, summopere cavendum est ne propter illius amorem et incentiva desideria, vanasque ac noxias delectationes, anima, que est celestis origo, pereat in eternum."

[62] DIR, pp. 126-127. ". . . sciaturque quod amicitia illius teste apostolo Jacobo, inimica sit Dei, ita dicente: 'Quicumque voluerit amicus esse seculi huius, inimicus Dei constituitur.' Quibus verbis liquido colligitur quod nullo amico Dei amicitia hujus mundi amplectanda sit, et quod semper amicis Dei inimicus

Every Christian should be careful to keep his course fixed towards God,

> nor should he delude himself in a vain hope, promising himself a long life, because he is young and in good health. He knows that death spares no age, and that no one is certain of his last day. Therefore, despising the ancient enemy and the world . . . let the faithful make progress every day from vice to virtue, from visible to invisible realities, from transitory to eternal goods, so that, when this earthly course is over, they may come to Him by whom they were created from nothing, who recreated them and signed them with saving faith when they had perished, and by whom they will reach those things which eye has not seen, nor ear heard, nor has the heart grasped what God has prepared for those who love Him.[63]

After this general exhortation, Jonas comes directly to the point.

> I beg and implore through Our Lord, that Your Excellence will apply these general admonitions specifically, now, to yourself. I humbly suggest to Your Clemency that you place nothing before the love of the Lord your God. . . . Indeed, you do not

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fuerit. Miserabilis plane et valde dolenda res est, quando quis inimici sui amicitie jungitur, et pro noxia mortiferaque amicitia, eternum et immortalem amicum, Creatorem videlicet suum amittit."

[63] DIR, p. 127. "Neque vana se spe deludant, promittentes sibi aut propter juventutem, aut propter sanitatem corporis longiquam vitam, scientes quod mors nulli etati [sic] parcat et quod omnibus finis diei sui incerta sit. Ergo spreta antiquo hoste, spretoque mundo . . . quotidie de vitiis ad virtutes, de visibilibus ad invisibilia, de transitoriis ad eterna salutiferum transitum faciant, quatenus, finito labentis huius vita excursu, ad eum perveniant a quo, cum non essent, sunt creati, cum periissent, sunt recreati eiusque fide salutariter insigniti, et ab eo percipiant ea que 'nec oculus vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascenderunt, que preparavit Deus diligentibus se.'"

> need me to remind you that you should also love your neighbor as yourself.[64]

The neighbor Pepin is to love is

> that orthodox man, pious Caesar, our lord and your father . . . and I humbly counsel you to remain steadfast in that sincere love, with God's help, so that nothing whatever, or anyone's encouragement, could separate you from that love, nor cause you to sadden him in anything.[65]

Jonas cites Scriptural passages from the Deuteronomy and Exodus to bring home to Pepin the seriousness of the divine command, concluding,

> It certainly should be understood that whoever honors his father, honors God, Who is the Father of all; and I do not doubt at all that the man who dishonors his father offends God, because He is the Father of all, and has commanded that the father be honoured by his sons.[66]

Jonas draws the further timely conclusion that the peace of the entire realm depends on the maintenance of fraternal charity in the ruling family.[67]

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[64] DIR, p. 127. "Obsecro itaque et per Dominum supplico, ut ea que paulo supra generaliter dicta sunt vestra excellentia specialiter sibi adsumere dignetur. Humiliter etiam vestre mansuetudini suggero, ut Dominum Deum tuum [diligens] . . . ejusque amori nichil preponas. Porro quod proximum vestrum sicut vosmetipsos diligere debeatis, admonitione mea non indigetis."

[65] DIR, pp. 127-128. ". . . orthodoxum virum piumque Cesarem, dominum nostrum, genitorem vestrum . . . vosque humiliter admoneo ut semper in eadem dilectione sincerissimi, Domino vobis opem ferente, permaneatis, ut nullatenus vos qualibet occasione, aut cuiuslibet hortatu, ab eius amore disiungatis, neque eum in aliquo contristetis . . ."

[66] DIR, p. 128. "Pro certo autem sciendum est quia quisquis patrem honorat, Deum, quo omnium pater est, honorat, et qui eum dehonorat, illi procul dubio iniuriam ingerit, quia omnium pater est, et a filiis patrem honorandum sancit."

Always the practical pedagogue, the bishop finally enumerates four practices which should help Pepin implement the ideal just set before him: first, he should resolve each day to be more concerned about the good of his soul than of his earthly goods, remembering that "for every year and month and day and hour of our lives in which God gave us the power to discern good and evil, He will exact the fruit of good works from the vine, that is, from our soul";[68] second, he should never forget that he is a sinner; third, he should ever have the day of his death before his eyes; and fourth, he should remember the final judgment.

Jonas adds a recommendation to read the treatise which follows, where Pepin will find Jonas' counsels developed in passages "from Holy Scripture and the holy

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[67] DIR, p. 128. ". . . ne sanguis populi Christiani vobis commissi, quem diabolus plurimum sitiebat, civiliter et plus quam civiliter funderetur . . . oportet, immo necesse est, ut vos et fratres vestri, eriles nostri, in mutua dilectione indissolubiter consistatis . . ."

[68] DIR, p. 129. ". . . de omnibus vite nostre temporibus, annis videlicet, mensibus diebus atque horis, ex quo Deus discretionem boni et mali nobis tribuit, bone operationis fructum a vinea nostra, id est anima, exacturus est."

Fathers, arranged chapter by chapter." He adds, "I cannot emphasize sufficiently what a great advantage it will be to you, if, with God's help, you read [this treatise] or have someone else read it to you."[69] The letter concludes with a blessing and twelve lines of occasional verse--a typical Carolingian convention.

While Jonas drew most of the material in the De institutione regia from his own earlier writings, he reorganized the material for the present treatise. Following the method used in the De institutione laicali, he arranged the work in short chapters, apparently hoping that this would help his readers to memorize at least the leading ideas.

Chapter One treats of the Church as the body of Christ, explaining that civil rulers and clergy hold special places in that body, and that the clergy will be held responsible before God for civil rulers. It is this responsibility which places on churchmen the obligation of instructing and admonishing kings.[70] Chapter Two speaks of the sacerdotal power and authority. Chapters Three to Eight treat of the nature of kingship and the duties of those who hold civil authority.[71]

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[69] DIR, p. 130. ". . . ex oraculis divinis et sanctorum patrum dictis congesta capitulatim ponuntur. . . . Que si legere aut ab alio vobis Domino adminuculante legi volueritis, quantum profutura fient satis dici non potest."

On the value of such reading, compare Theodulph of Orléans' advice to the clergy of his diocese, Mansi, XIII, 996: "Oportet vos et assiduitatem habere legendi, et instantiam orandi: quia vita viri justi lectione instruitur, ornatur, et assiduitate lectionis munitur homo a peccato."

Chapter Three opens with the definition of the word rex found in the Etymologies of Saint Isidore of Seville, and draws the immediate conclusion that the king's first duty is to put his own house in order.[72] The chapter next lists specific duties of kings, taken from the seventeenth chapter of Deuteronomy, adding by way of commentary that a just rule will guarantee a long reign not for the king alone, but also for his heirs.[73] It is in this chapter on the duties of kings that Jonas leans heavily on the work of a seventh century Irish monk. Jonas is attracted to the passage on the just king found in the *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* because he is under the mistaken notion that it is the work of the early martyr, Saint Cyprian.[74]

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[70] DIR, p. 135. "Ergo quia tante auctoritatis, immo tanti discriminis est ministerium sacerdotum, ut de ipsis etiam regibus Deo sint rationem reddituri, oportet, imo necesse est, ut de vestra salute semper simus solliciti, vosque ne voluntate Dei, quod absit, in ministerio quod vobis commisit, erretis, vigilanter admoneamus . . . ut non de silentio taciturnitatis nostre dampnemur, sed magis de sollertissima cura et admonitione salutifera remunerari a Christo mereamur."

[71] III. Quid sit rex, quid esse, quidve debeat cavere. IV. Quid sit proprie ministerium regis. V. De periculo regis, et quod bene agentes remunerare, male vero agentes sua auctoritate comprimere, causamque pauperum ad se ingredi debeat facere. VI. Quod equitas judicii, stabilimentum regni, et injustitia sit eius eversio. VII. Quod regnum non ab hominibus, sed a Deo, in cujus manu omnia consistunt detur. VIII. Quod potestati regali que nonnisi a Deo ordinata est humiliter atque fideliter cuncti parere debeant subiecti.

[72] DIR, p. 138. "Rex a recte regendo vocatur. Si enim pie, et juste, et misericorditer regit, merito rex appellatur, si his caruerit, nomen regis amittit . . . quia ergo rex a recte regendo dicitur, primo ei studendum est ut semetipsum suamque domum, Christi adiuvante gratia, ab operibus nequam emaculet, bonisque operibus exuberare faciat; ut ab ea ceteri subiecti bonum exemplum semper capiant."

In Chapter Four Jonas turns to a consideration of the king's judicial functions. As defender of the poor, the king must be ever vigilant so that they will not be victimized by unjust judges.[75] The next entire chapter is given to a continuation of this theme.

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[73] *DIR*, p. 139. "Adtende, quod timor Dei, et custodia preceptorum ejus, et humilitas, que non patitur eum extollere super fratres suos, et justitie rectitudo non solum regem, sed et filios ejus, longo faciat regnare tempore."

This is not a statement supporting the principle of hereditary monarchy. Cf. *DIR*, p. 155: "Nemo regum a progenitoribus regnum sibi administrari, sed a Deo veraciter atque humiliter credere debet dari, qui dicit, 'Meum est consilium, et equitas, mea est prudentia, mea est fortitudo. Per me reges regnant, et legum conditores justa decernant"; and p. 156: "Quapropter quisquis ceteris mortalibus temporaliter imperat, non ab hominibus, sed a Deo sibi regnum commissum credat." Jonas makes a distinction between those who rule "munere divino" and those who rule "Dei permissu." *Ibid*.: "Qui pie et juste, et misericorditer regnant, sine dubio per Deum regnant; qui vero secus, non ejus munere, sed permissu tantum regnant."

[74] Siegmund Hellmann (ed.), *Pseudo-cyprianus de XII abusivis saeculi* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909). Jonas writes of this work, *DIR*, p. 140: "Verum quia sanctorum qui cum Domino regnant, documenta Sancti Spiritus munere prolata, in cordibus auditorum plus valere quam nostre exiguitatis verba non dubitamus, idcirco pauca de verbis beati Cypriani martyris Christi huic opusculo parvitatis nostre quedam inseruimus."

> We do not say that the king should hear all the people's cases personally, since one person could never do that; but rather that he should appoint subordinates who fear God and detest avarice, men through whom the King of kings will not be offended.[76]

Jonas' theme in Chapter Six, a short chapter which is nothing more than a compilation of quotations from the Old Testament, is that the stability of the kingdom depends on justice tempered by mercy.[77] It is clear where Jonas' sympathies lie. As a political theorist, his primary concern is the limitation of power by moral authority.

In the next eight chapters, which discuss Christian conduct in a more general manner, Jonas repeats some of his favorite themes: the primacy of charity, the necessity of good works, the importance of frequent prayer, and observance of Sunday.[78]

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[75] DIR, p. 146. ". . . oportet ut ipse, qui judex est judicum, causam pauperum ad se ingredi faciat, et diligenter inquirat, ne forte illi qui ab eo consituti sunt, et vicem ejus agere debent in populo, injuste aut negligenter pauperum oppressiones pati permittant."

[76] DIR, p. 148. "Non ergo dicimus ut solus jurgia et querimonias populi audiat et investiget, et definiat, quoniam nequaquam ad hec [sic] solus sufficere potest; sed magis ut tales sub se timentes Deum et avaritiam odientes constituat, per quos Regem regum non offendat."

[77] DIR, p. 154. "Quibus verbis liquido claret quod pietas, justitia et misericordia stabiliant regnum; et lesiones viduarum et pupillorum, calumniaque miserorum, violentque judicia, et perversio justitie [sic] illud evertant."

The concluding chapter of the treatise, which is not borrowed from an earlier one of Jonas' own works, is a long quotation from Saint Augustine's De civitate Dei,[79] which Jonas introduces with the comment,

> I thought it fitting and proper that this little work of mine should end not with my words, but with those of that man of such outstanding learning, Blessed Augustine, so that you can see clearly which emperors and kings can rightly be called happy.[80]

Reviron maintains that in the De institutione regia Jonas anticipates the theory of government which was to be formulated two and a half centuries later by the Hildebrandine reform movement. Unlike Saint Gregory VII, Jonas could not see the logical conclusions of his principles, partly because of the still undeveloped political institutions of the ninth century, and partly because Jonas tended to see the complex issues of government only in the simplest terms of personal morality.[81]

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[78] IX. "Quod ubi caritas non est, nulla bona inesse possunt." X. "De transgressoribus praeceptorum Dei." Chapters XI-XV are from DIL. Cf. supra, p. 73, n. 57. Chapter IX is particularly important as an illustration of the development of Jonas' concept of charity. Cf. infra, Chapter V, p. 215.

[79] Book Five, Chapter XXIV: "Quae sit Christianorum imperatorum et quam vera felicitas." Emmanuel Hoffmann (ed.), Sancti Aurelii Augustini Episcopi de civitate Dei (CSEL, Vol. XL, Pt. 1; Leipsig: G. Freytag, 1899), p. 260.

[80] DIR, p. 193. "Quod tamen opusculum non meis, sed beati Augustini doctoris eximii verbis finiendum ratum dignumque duxi, ut in eis perspicue cognoscatis qui imperatores, quive reges felices dici possint et debeant."

Epistola ad Pippinum

Among the works of Jonas can be included, with a high degree of certainty, a treatise addressed to Pepin in 836.[82] This *Epistola ad Pippinum* is mentioned in a contemporary work, the *Annales Bertiniani*,[83] and has been found in manuscripts under two titles, *De rebus ecclesiasticis non invadendis*[84] and *Libellus de religione oblationum Dei*.[85]

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[81] Reviron, pp. 116-117.

[82] [Werminghoff (ed.)], *Epistola Concilii Aquisgranensis ad Pippinum regem directa* (*MGH*, *Concilia Aevi Karolini*, II, 724-767; 1908). Cited hereafter as *EP*.

[83] G. Waitz (ed.), *Annales Bertiniani* (*Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum*; Hanover, 1883).

[84] Codex Bellovacensis A 4. This manuscript was lost during World War II. It is described by A. Salmon, "Notice sur les manuscrits de la bibliothèque du tribunal de Beauvais," *Revue des Bibliotheques*, VIII (1898), 361-370, and by Henri Omont, *Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'église cathedrale de Beauvais* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1914), p. 63.

[85] Codex Mettensis 226.

Besides internal evidence of Jonas' authorship,[86] there is further evidence in an early codex in which the treatise is inserted between two sections of the De institutione laicali.[87]

The Epistola ad Pippinum belongs to the acts of a reform council held at Aachen in 836.[88] Pepin had already been ordered by Louis the Pious to restore ecclesiastical properties which Pepin had confiscated.[89] The bishops added their own appeal to that of the emperor. The letter is the first clearly argued defense of the rights of ecclesiastical properties from the Carolingian period, though the reform party had been pleading the cause of the Church's property rights since 822.[90]

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[86] Werminghoff, p. 734, calls attention to similarities between EP and DIL in the treatment of tithes.

[87] A British Museum manuscript, Add. 10,459, from the ninth or tenth century, has a copy of the Epistola ad Pippinum inserted between Books Two and Three of Jonas' De institutione laicali. In this manuscript, the epistle bears the title Synodi Aquisgranensis II ad Pippinem regem Aquitaniae libri tres.

[88] MGH, Concilia Aevi Karolini, II, 704-724.

[89] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Pt. I, 97.

[90] Paul Fournier and Gabriel Le Bras, Histoire des collections canoniques en occident, depuis les fausses decretals jusqu'au decret de Gratien, Tome I: De la réforme carolingienne a la réforme gregorienne (Paris: Recueil Sirey, 1931), p. 123, note this letter to Pepin as the first clearly argued stand on the rights of ecclesiastical properties in the Carolingian period.

The Epistle is divided into three books, preceded by an index capitulorum[91] and a preface. The bishops explain that their aim is to support their arguments with proofs from Holy Scripture, but they will not cite extended passages, in order to keep the work from becoming too long. Nevertheless, there is enough to give Pepin the authorities he needs to refute the arguments of those who try to justify the confiscation of properties which belong to the Church.[92]

The Biblical-historical presentation aims to prove that the right of the Church to hold property is irrefutable, and that it can be traced to apostolic times. More than this, the obligation to offer gifts to God and to reverence His holy places is clearly seen in the Old Testament.

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[91] The index is found in three of the early manuscripts: British Museum, Add. 10,459; Cologne 125, and Berne 303.

[92] EP, p. 730. ". . . quia de negotiis, unde vestram magnitudinem admonuimus, testimonia sanctarum scripturarum, vitantes illius prolixitatem, adnectere nequivimus, utile necessariumque judicavimus, ut in hoc opusculo ea breviter adnotaremus . . . si forte quispiam obicere voluerit haec, quae vobis scripsimus, non ex auctoritate divina constare . . ."

Fournier and Le Bras, p. 123, consider the heavy reliance on Scriptural arguments an indication of the weakness of the bishops' position. ". . . leur faiblesse est d'être une aristocratie depossédée qui lutte contre une aristocratie pourvue. . . . Il leur fallait, à tout prix, éviter les arguments trop actuels et personnels. Voilà pourquoi ils rappellent les justifications de la propriété ecclésiastique et font grand usage des Écritures."

Book One, which contains thirty-eight short chapters, begins with a reminder that no one sins with impunity.[93] It next refutes the argument that God is not concerned about the use men make of consecrated goods.[94] Using examples from the Old Testament, including Abel, Noe, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, in Book One, and continuing in the next book with proofs from the books of Judges and Kings, the *Epistola ad Pippinum* presents a rich and carefully selected collection of passages illustrating divine worship among the chosen people.

There are two chapters in the first book which break the symmetry of the exposition, and are for that reason all the more arresting. Chapter Ten states a recurring theme of Jonas' writings: a man cannot please God by offering him goods acquired unjustly.[95]

> Let no one think that what he has acquired unjustly, he has received from the hand of God. Nor should he think that he can make any offering from these goods which will please God, since it

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[93] *EP*, p. 725. "Liber Primus, Caput I: Quod Deus nullum peccatum inultum dimittit. Caput II. Cur Deus quaedam peccata in hoc saeculo judicat, quaedam in futuro judicanda reservat."

[94] *EP*, p. 725. "Liber Primus, Caput III: Contra eos, qui dicunt nullum esse discrimen, si rebus Deo oblatis in suis utantur necessitatibus."

[95] Cf. *DIL*, 204-208.

> is written, 'He who offers to God a gift stolen from the poor, is like one who kills a son in sight of his father.' (Eccles. 34, 24) Whoever, therefore, wants to offer anything to God rightly, let him first offer himself, according to the words of the apostle, 'a living victim, holy and pleasing to God.' (Rom. 12, 1). Then, from those goods which he has acquired justly, that is, which he has received from the hand of the Lord God, let him bring a tribute to the Lord which will also benefit the giver himself.[96]

Chapter Twelve treats of the apostolic foundation of the Church whose rights Jonas and his fellow bishops at Aachen saw violated, and ends with a statement of another recurrent theme: the Church depends on the faithful for its growth and development.[97]

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[96] EP, p. 732. "Nemo porro putet ea, quae injuste adquisivit, de manu Dei se accepisse aut quicquam ex his Deo gratum offerre posse, cum scriptum sit: Qui offert Deo ex rapina pauperum, quasi qui victimat filium in conspectu patris sui. Qui ergo ordinate vult aliquid Deo offerre, primum seipsum offerat, videlicet juxta apostolum, hostiam vivam, sanctam, Deo placentem; deinde ex his, quae juste adquisivit, id est quae de manu domini Dei accepit, sibi profuturum feliciter foenus Domino accommodet."

Giles Constable, Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 32, points out that during Louis the Pious' time, the king and his vassals were expected to pay tithes like everyone else. See the remarks of Smaragdus to Louis the Pious, PL, CII, 953.

[97] The idea is repeated in Book Three, Chapters IV, XIX, and XXIII, each time with a slightly different emphasis. Chapter IV--the growth of the Church is analagous to the physical growth of Christ, from infancy to manhood. Chapter XIX--the growth of the Church in apostolic times. Chapter XXIII--the growth of the Church since the time of Constantine, in which period the gifts to the Church have been so many that it would be impossible to enumerate them all.

> It is well known that the Church, established by blessed Peter, the prince of the apostles, in the west, by blessed John the apostle and evangelist in sections of the East, that is, of Asia, and by blessed Paul all over, was enriched and honored by the offerings of the faithful. Moreover, the other co-apostles, sent into regions allotted by Christ the Lord for their preaching, established the Church and put it on a strong basis by the gifts of the faithful. It would be a long and wearing task to relate the details, which are easily obtainable, anyway.[98]

Book Three finds its proofs and examples in the gospels, after establishing a link between the Old Testament and the New Testament by showing that the temple built by Solomon prefigured the Church established by Christ.

> We should understand that Christ, our peacemaker, who pacified all things in heaven and earth through His cross and passion, and who is our own true peace, making all things one, is building his Church through seven ages; that is, through the seven days in which all time develops in this mortal life; and in the eighth year, that is, in the age of the resurrection, He will consecrate it [the Church] . . . when He will say to His elect, 'Come, blessed of my Father, accept the kingdom which has been prepared for you from the beginning of the world, for I was hungry and you gave me food; thirsty and you gave me to drink; a stranger and you

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[98] EP, p. 733. "Per beatum videlicet Petrum apostolorum principem in occiduis, per beatum vero Johannem apostolum et evangelistam in Orientis, id est Asiae, partibus, per beatum etiam Paulum in tota generaliter mundi latitudine fundata et ex oblationibus fidelium constat ditata atque honorata. Qualiter autem ceteri coapostoli illorum in regionibus sibi a Christo Domino ad predicandum commissis ecclesiam Christi fundaverint et fidelium donis constare fecerint, gesta illorum, quae in promptu habentur evidenter testantur. Quae hic ponere magnae est prolixitatis."

> took me in; naked and you clothed me; sick and in prison and you came to me. (Matt. 25, 34-36). Certainly those who are generous to Christ in His members will hear these words. Now I ask you, what do you think those are going to hear who do not blush to rob the gifts given by others for the honor and adornment of the church, for the use of Christ's ministers, and for the care of the poor?[99]

It is clear from this passage that Jonas is defending more than the physical possessions of the Church. The strength of his argument is that the Church is responsible for the poor; that she is in a special way identified with them, and that they are the friends of Christ.

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[99] _EP_, p. 759. "Ceterum sciendum est, quod rex noster pacificus Christus, qui per crucem passionis suae pacificavit omnia, quae in caelis et quae in terris sunt, et qui est vera pax nostra, faciens utraque unum, eandem ecclesiam suam per septem annos, id est per septem dies, quibus omne saeculum evolvitur, in hac mortalitate aedificat; quam octavo anno, id est resurrectionis tempore, dedicaturus est, quando scilicet mortale nostrum induerit inmortalitatem et corruptibile hoc induerit incorruptionem, quando electis suis dicturus est: 'Venite benedicti patris mei; percipite regnum, quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi, quia esurivi et dedistis mihi manducare; sitivi et dedists [sic] mihi bibere; hospes eram et collegistis me; nudus et operuistis me; infirmus et in carcere et venistis ad me.' Hanc pro certo benedictionem audituri sunt qui in membris Christi sua largiti sunt Christo. Quid rogo putas audituri sunt hi, qui aliorum largita et ad honorem ecclesiae decoremque et ad usus ministrorum Christi pauperumque receptionem ac recreationem conlata auferre non erubescant?"

The concept of the eighth year as the age of the resurrection is a characteristic of Carolingian religious thought which deserves careful study. It found its architectural expression in Charlemagne's chapel at Aachen. Cf. John Beckwith, _Early Medieval Art_ (London: Thames and Hudson, 1964), pp. 11-14.

In Chapter Three, Jonas again takes up the same theme.

> How careful the sons of the Church should be, that they may deserve to hear the same blessing from Christ and from His friends, that is, from the poor, and be welcomed into the everlasting tabernacle, there to enjoy the happiness of eternal blessedness.[100]

Later, a passage from Saint Jerome is used to develop the same idea.[101]

Following Saint Augustine, Jonas sees the Church as the body of Christ.

> Indeed, we fail to recognize that Christ and the Church are one Person, and therefore what belongs to the Church belongs to Christ; what is offered to the Church is offered to Christ; and what is taken from the Church is, without a doubt, taken from Christ.[102]

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[100] EP, p. 760. "Quamobrem filiis ecclesiae vigilanter satagendum est, ut eandem benedictionem a Christo audire et ab amicis, id est pauperibus Christi, in aeterna tabernacula recipi et aeternae beatitudinis felicitate valeant sine fine perfrui."

[101] EP, p. 763. "Scribit etiam idem beatus Hieronimus in expositione Sophoniae prophetae. . . . 'Judices quoque eius quasi lupi rabidi, occidentes et vespere, non aspicientes ad ortum solis, sed morantes semper in tenebris possessiunculas ecclesiae et ea, quae in Dei donaria conferuntur, vertentes in lucrum suum, ut non habeant pauperes quod mane comedant . . .'"

[102] EP, p. 760. "Porro Christum et ecclesiam unam personam esse non nescimus et ideo quae ecclesiae sunt Christi sunt; et quae ecclesiae offeruntur, Christi offeruntur; et quae ab ecclesia eius tolluntur, procul dubio Christo tolluntur." (Augustine, Tractatus 50 in Evang. Johannis.)

Cf. DIR, p. 134, and Henri de Lubac, Corpus Mysticum: L'eucharistie et l'église au moyen âge (2d ed.; Paris, 1949).

A corollary of this close identity is that Christ will never abandon His Church. It ever suffers from sin, yet "He who redeemed it with His own precious blood, will never forsake it, as He promised. 'Behold,' He said, 'I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.'" (Matt. xxviii, 20)[103]

The other key idea of the treatise, that the Church's growth has from the beginning been dependent on the gifts of the faithful, also finds support in the gospels. Christ, head of the Church, did not spurn the gifts of the faithful;[104] Judas was ruined because he stole from the offerings of the faithful, so that he was guilty not only of theft, but also of sacrilege. The woman who anointed Christ, the widow's mite, and the driving of the buyers and sellers from the temple, are all made to illustrate the same lesson. The applications are not left to Pepin's imagination. Commenting on the story of the anointing, the author says, "There are many today, who are thought to be Christians, who are just like Judas in this . . . saying, 'Why this waste?'"[105]

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[103] EP, p. 763. ". . . hanc tamen, qui eam suo pretioso sanguine redemit, numquam deserturus est, ita ei pollicens, 'Ecce,' inquid, 'Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.'" (Matt. xxviii, 20).

[104] EP, p. 760. "Idem namque caput nostrum dominus ac redemptor noster Jesus Christus, qui, cum sit caeli et terrae creator omniumque bonorum largitor, oblationes tamen fidelium suscepisse non ambigitur . . ."

Near the end of the treatise, ecclesiastical canons, a council,[106] and papal decrees are referred to for further support of the basic argument, though Jonas recognizes that if he has not made his point by this time, he has failed. "If these arguments are not enough, others will be of no avail."[107]

The treatise closes with a final appeal to the king, "most noble, glorious, and renowned in all the world," to practice what has just been preached.[108]

In some ways, the Epistola ad Pippinum shows Jonas at his best as a writer. There is an inner logic in the arrangement of the material, and few digressions, partly because Jonas has departed from his practice of quoting long passages from the Fathers. It may be that when Jonas was writing the work, he did not have access to as large a reference library as when he wrote his earlier treatises. Whatever the reason, the Epistola ad Pippinum is much less patristic and much more scriptural than Jonas' earlier works.[109] Scripture, however, is not used for its own sake. Instead, Jonas uses the Word of God for apologetical purposes.

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[105] EP, p. 761. "Multi sane sunt hodie, qui Christiano censentur nomine, qui ad instar Judae dicere solent super his, quae aut Domino consecrata sunt aut consecrantur aut consecrari decernuntur: Ut quid perditio haec?"

[106] Concilium Gangrensi. Mansi, II, 1107. "Si quis oblationes ecclesiae extra ecclesiam accipere vel dare voluerit praeter conscientiam episcopi vel euis, cui huiuscemodi officia commissa sunt, nec cum eius voluerit agere consilio, anathema sit."

[107] EP, p. 766. "Quod si haec parva eis non sufficiunt, neque si majora . . . eis sufficient."

[108] EP, pp. 766-767. "Te quoque, nobilissime et gloriosissime totoque orbe famosissime, optime rex, humiles ac fidelissimi oratores vestri . . . suppliciter exoramus . . ."

De cultu imaginum

The last of Jonas' known works is De cultu imaginum,[110] a treatise in three books and a prefatory epistle. The epistle, addressed to the Emperor Charles the Bald, shows that the work cannot have been published before 840.

In writing the De cultu imaginum, which is strictly polemical, Jonas was attempting to refute errors in a work of Claude, Bishop of Turin. Jonas knew this work, however, only in excerpts which had been sent him by the Emperor.[111] The work itself is not extant, and it is only in the citations of Claude's work that precede Jonas' arguments that we can know Claude of Turin's views.

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[109] Ann Freeman, "Further Studies in the Libri Carolini," Speculum, XL (1965), 109ff., shows that the primary appeal of Charlemagne's theologians was always to the authority of Scripture, but that later, under Louis the Pious, patristic authority predominated. The Epistola ad Pippinum must be seen, then, as an exception.

[110] Jonae de cultu imaginum, PL, CVI, 353-388. The preface only is in MGH, Epistolae Aevi Karolini, III (Epistolarum, Tomas V), pp. 353-355. Cited hereafter as DCI. References to the preface will be to the MGH edition.

Whatever may have been the Bishop of Turin's ultimate heretical position, it would seem that he was motivated by a desire to correct in his own diocese practices which were grossly superstitious.[112] Jonas' own orthodoxy has been questioned in several passages of the De cultu imaginum.

The epistle opens with the customary praise of Louis and Charlemagne, containing pointed advice for Charles the Bald, who is reminded that Louis was outstanding for his practical devotion to the Church, surpassing even the great Charles in his zeal.[113] Jonas next reviews Claude's history: his Spanish origin, his reputation as an exegete, his outstanding pastoral achievements in Turin, and his stubborn refusal to admit error in certain of his writings.

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[111] DCI, p. 354. "Quem licet ego nec legerim nec viderim, quoddam tamen ex eo excerptum, eodem genitore vestro mittente, suscepi."

[112] Reginald Lane Poole, Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought and Learning (London: SPCK, 1920), pp. 27-29, sees Claude as an enlightened reformer, and Jonas as grossly superstitious. Cabaniss, Amalarius of Metz, p. 68, also sees Jonas as "devoted to image veneration" in contrast to "unsubtle middle-of-the-roaders like Bishop Agobard of Lyons [who believed] that cautious and restricted use of images was permissible if only to serve as reminders . . . but that no kind of worship was to be offered to representations." Cabaniss here misrepresents Jonas, as should be clear from an account of Jonas' views found in the text itself. Cf. Agobard of Lyons, Contra eorum superstitionem qui picturis et imaginibus sanctorum adorationis obsequium deferendum putant, PL, CIV, 199-228.

Jonas explains that he was engaged in writing a refutation of Claude's heretical teachings when Claude died. Jonas decided there was no longer any need for a refutation, and discontinued his work. Later, discovering that Claude's pernicious views were still gaining strength among his followers, Jonas decided to complete the work begun years ago, lest through his neglect the simple faithful would be infected with error, to their eternal loss.[114] The epistle closes with a strong recommendation to Charles to read the book and have others read it, followed by an invitation to those who have the ability to do so to add their own efforts to Jonas' for the honor and defense of God's holy Church.

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[113] *DCI*, pp. 353-354. "Deo dilectissimus Lodovicus caesar religiosissimus . . . et in ecclesiasticis negotiis, Domino se amminiculante, ad honorem et cultum divinum pertinentibus augmentandis et gubernandis emicuerit . . . et ecclesiam Christi precioso sanguine redemptam, suoque regimini et ecclesiam Christi precioso sanguine redemptam, suoque regimini divinitus commissam, morem patris sui, videlicet et omonimi vestri, Caroli nobilissimi augusti imitans, immo supergrediens, et disciplinis liberalium artium educaverit, et utriusque testamenti sancti paginis, atque eximiorum patrum dictis, ad propellenda hereticorum dogmata venenata et instruxerit et instrui fecerit, cunctis catholicae et apostolicae fidei filiis perspicuum esse non ambigitur, quoniam revera id quod dicitur in promptu esse cernitur." Cf. *DCI*, 310.

[114] *DCI*, p. 355. ". . . necesse est, ut sagacissimo quaesitu et diligentissimo scrutamine extet inventa et in lucem proferenda et cum resuscitatore suo ab ecclesiasticis veris rursus sanctarum scripturarum telis

In Book One, Jonas' aim is to refute Claude's teaching on the veneration of the Saints and images, by showing that Claude has departed from the traditional teaching and practice of the Church.[115] First there is a review of recent heresies in Spain, in order to show the intellectual climate in which Claude's own ideas were formed. It is here that Jonas gives one of the rare autobiographical passages in his writings, when he recalls having met in Asturias disciples of the Adoptionist heretic, Eliphantus of Toledo.[116]

Jonas is fair to Claude in recognizing that there were objective grounds for the bishop's criticism

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ferienda atque frustranda, ne, quod absit, si delituerit, simplicium mentibus in processu temporis virus mortiferum propinet et in perpetuam damnationem inducat."

[115] Jonas explains that this is particularly regrettable because Spain, the place of Claude's origin, is known for its orthodoxy. DCI, 307: "Disertissimos viros et eloquentissimos, atque catholicae et apostolicae fidei invictissimos defensores, Hispaniam protulisse manifestum est."

[116] DCI, 307-308. Cf. *supra*, p. 9.

of abuses in worship,[117] but he explains that Claude went too far in removing from the churches under his care pictures intended for instructional purposes, and even crosses, "which holy Church is accustomed to use in honor and in memory of her redemption."[118] Jonas cites Saint Gregory the Great as his authority for maintaining that it is perfectly legitimate to use sacred images to instruct the ignorant.[119]

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[117] DCI, 310. ". . . vidit eum inter caetera quae emendatione digna gerebat, superstitiosae, imo perniciosae, imaginum adorationi, qua plurimum nonnulli illarum partium laborant, ex inolita consuetudine deditum esse."

[118] Ibid. ". . . quibus ob honorem et recordationem redemptionis suae sancta consuevit uti Ecclesia . . ." Paul Deschamps, "Les peintures carolingiens de Ternand (Rhone)," Melanges d'histoire du moyen âge dedies a la memoire de Louis Halphen (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1951), p. 193, points to textual evidence that many Merovingian and Carolingian churches were decorated with paintings showing episodes from the Old and New Testaments, and from lives of the Saints.

Roger Hinks, Carolingian Art (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), pp. 95-100, calls attention to Jonas' emphasis on the didactic value of pictures for the illiterate. Some idea of what kind of paintings were used is provided by Ermoldus Nigellus, who describes the wall paintings ordered by Louis the Pious for the church at Ingelheim, near Mainz. On the left side were scenes from the Old Testament: paradise, fall, flood, Abraham, Joseph in Egypt, Exodus, Moses on Sinai, prophets and kings and their exploits. The right wall had scenes from the New Testament. There was a similar arrangement at Saint Gall. Each scene from the Old Testament was completed by one from the New Testament.

[119] DCI, 310 (speaking of Claude): "Unde immoderato et indiscreto zelo succensus, non solum picturas

Jonas shows his own keen understanding when he observes, concerning the futility of Claude's course, "But because he neglected to correct the error of his flock in a reasonable way, he only caused a scandal and made the people hate him."[120] He should have imitated Saint Paul, observes Jonas, who in dealing with the Athenians, recognized and respected a grain of truth in their imperfect worship.

Book Two deals with Claude's teaching on the veneration of the Cross. Claude had written that if a man adored the Cross because Christ died on it, he might also adore swaddling clothes because Christ was wrapped in them, boats because Christ taught from one, lambs because they symbolize Christ, and asses because Christ rode on one. Such absurdities Jonas answers in scathing language.[121] He also uses the book as an

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sanctarum rerum gestarum, quae non ad adorandum, sed solummodo (teste beato Gregorio) ad instruendas nescientium mentes, in ecclesiis suis antiquitus fieri permissae sunt . . ."

[120] DCI, 311. ". . . sed quia errorem gregis sui ratione corrigere neglexit, et eorum animis scandalum generavit, et in sui detestationem eos quodammodo prorumpere coegit."

[121] Jonas quotes Claude, and then comments on his abuse of source material. The passage gives another insight into Jonas' own principles of scholarship. DCI, 355: "'Adoretur et panni veteres, quoniam mox natus, pannis veteribus est involutus.' Familiare est tibi, Claudi, ex aliorum opusculis quaedam subripere, quaedam subtrahere, quaedam immutare, quaedam etiam his de tuo contra fas superaddere . . ."

opportunity to propound what he considers orthodox teaching on veneration of the Cross, and in so doing, reveals something of his own religious views, as well as devotional practices that were common in his day.

This second book has its own preface, in which Jonas chooses as his theme the words of Saint Paul, "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ" (Gal. vi, 14). He explains types of the Cross in the Old Testament, its pivotal place in the New Testament, and the age-old devotion of Christians to the instrument of their redemption. If Claude could not discern between proper veneration and idolatry, Jonas had not the slightest difficulty in explaining the difference clearly.

> Now we do not adore the Cross as we adore the Lord, rather we adore Him who through the Cross destroyed the dominion of death, and who fastened to that Cross the bond of our sin, and reconciled on it, in his own blood, heaven and earth.[122]

Jonas finds in Origen, and especially in Saint John Chrysostom, fitting words for expressing his own appreciation of the Cross. In one lyrical passage there is a series of metaphors comprising a litany of fifty titles. Eusebius' account of Constantine's vision of the Cross is retold. Other authorities whose writings on the Cross are cited include Saint Augustine, Cassiodorus, Saint Gregory the Great, and Sedulius.

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[122] DCI, 342. "Nec tamen ideo crucem ut Dominum adoramus, sed magis eum qui per crucem mortis destruxit imperium, cuique chyrographym peccati nostri affixit, pacificans in ea sanguine suo sive quae in terris, sive quae in coelis sunt."

In the third and final book, Jonas discusses pilgrimages and relics. He begins by explaining the importance of intention in all human activity,[123] maintaining that while pilgrimages can be abused, they can also be a source of great spiritual fruit, since it cannot be denied that there have been, and still are, places of special grace.

> Granted that God is everywhere and has made all things, nevertheless, when He was about to test the faith of Abraham, he ordered him to sacrifice his son not in any place, but on the mountain chosen by God--and furthermore, He wanted him to go there within the space of three days.[124]

Jonas explains that from earliest times, the Church, by a "subtle insight" recognized that one place must crystallize the religious aspirations of the Christian people. This place, to Christians the dearest on earth, is Rome, because like a new ark prefigured in the Old Testament, Rome holds the relics of Saint Peter. Even from a natural point of view, Jonas explains, there are advantages in going to Rome.

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[123] DCI, 367. "Si enim cuilibet proficit, alii autem officit, non istud ex natura procedit operis, sed ex qualitate operantis, qui hoc quod sibi profuturum erat in ramis operis, laesit in radice intentionis, et quia non habuit purum oculum intentionis, ideo totum corpus tenebras perpessum est operationis."
Cf. *infra*, pp. 207-222.

[124] DCI, 367. "Licet namque Deus ubique praesens sit et omnia loca manus ejus fundaverint, tamen beati Abraham fidem probaturus, non in quocunque loco, sed in monte quo sibi placuit, filium offerri praecepit, et trium dierum spatio ad eumdem locum supradictum virum ire voluit."

> It is characteristic of the human mind to be struck more by seeing something, than by merely hearing of it. As blessed Jerome notes, a man reads the Holy Scriptures better when he has become familiar with the names of places and cities by walking around these places.[125]

In criticizing pilgrimages, Claude had suggested that people who were sent on pilgrimage as a canonical penance should be obliged instead to do their penance in a monastery. Jonas replies that everyone in his right mind recognizes that there are many walks of life, and that while stability is an important rule for monks, this rule does not oblige the rest of mankind.[126] In reply to Claude's statement that penitents in monasteries could be of practical service to bishops, Jonas has some pungent remarks.

> As for your suggestion that these penitents should be at my service--although I admit I have my faults, so much so that the brethren do me a service in putting up with me--just the same, I do try to follow the divine authority in this matter, and it says: 'Whoever wants to be the

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[125] DCI, 368. "Sane est etiam proprium humanae menti non adeo compungi ex auditis sicut ex visis. Sicut enim, teste beato Hieronymo, melius Scripturas divinas intelligit, qui nomina locorum atque civitatum peragrando circuit."

[126] DCI, 369-370.

> greatest among you, let him be as the lowest.' . . . Furthermore, there is that reciprocal service concerning which we have the precept proper to our way of life: 'Let the brothers serve one another.'[127]

Jonas recognizes that Claude may have been accusing him of forcing men into monasteries, and he denies the charge. He grants that monasticism has flourished in his diocese, but insists that he has not pressured anyone into the monastery for selfish motives.[128]

What particularly angered Jonas was Claude's attempt to undermine the faith and destroy the devotional life of the simple people. In Claude's program, Jonas saw a kind of gnosticism. With a realism becoming a pastor, Jonas assesses the situation.

> We recognize that from the very beginning of the Church, and we do not doubt that it will be thus till the end, the Church has few members who are outstanding in learning, but many who are satisfied with a simple knowledge, and who learn what they must do, and believe all that is necessary for salvation. The simplicity of these people always exposes the Church to the ridicule of her enemies. The result is that these people are recognized as more vulnerable, and they are the first to be attacked, as the weaker fortifications outside the walls, so that when they have been overcome,

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[127] DCI, 370. "Quod autem dicis eos mihi servire fecisse, quanquam me ab hac re immunem non judicem, ut pote cui multae sunt deformitates morum quibus serviat in supportando devotio pia fratrum, tamen auctoritatem divinam in hac re sequi conor ita dicentis: Qui vult inter vos esse major, sit vester minimus. . . . Est etiam nobis reciproca servitus, de qua institutionis nostrae praecepta continent ita: Fratres invicem sibi serviant."

[128] DCI, 371.

> the way will lie open for a strike against the walls of the holy city, the Church, itself.[129]

In the passages on devotion to relics, which follow the discussion of pilgrimages, there is an example of Jonas' keen penetration of religious psychology. He points out that a man's devotion is satisfied only when he has come as close as possible to the object of that devotion, and by way of example, he observes Christ's response to the holy women who visited His tomb. He also cites several passages from the De civitate Dei, to show that Saint Augustine's view corresponds with his own.

Jonas explains Catholic tradition regarding devotion to the Saints as clearly as he had described the orthodox teaching on the veneration of images. Here, Jonas takes Saint Jerome as his authority.

> If the apostles and martyrs, while in the flesh, were able to pray for others when they should have been solicitous for themselves, how much more after they have won crowns, victories, and triumphs? Moses alone begged pardon from God for six hundred thousand armed men, and Stephen, in imitation of

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[129] DCI, 375. "Novimus namque et ab initio nascentis Ecclesiae, et usque ad ejus terminum perseveraturum non dubitamus, ut paucos habeat qui doctrina praefulgeant, plures autem qui simplicitate contenti, ea quae operanda agnoscunt, sibi sufficere ad salutem, solummodo credant. Quorum simplicitas hostium sanctae Ecclesiae semper patet derisioni, ut quia minoris fortitudinis ad repugnandum creduntur, primum in eis veluti fragilia proterantur ante muralia, ut liberior pateat via ad concutienda sanctae civitatis Ecclesiae moenia."

> his Lord, and as the first martyr in Christ, begged forgiveness for his persecutors. After these men are with Christ, will they be less efficacious?[130]

It is in arguing against Claude of Turin, however, that the bishop of Orléans himself makes some errors in doctrine. He teaches that sinful priests lack the powers of the priesthood, and that holy bishops retain their jurisdiction after death.[131]

The _De cultu imaginum_ illustrates well certain of Jonas' characteristics that are less clearly seen in his other writings. There is first his use of invective, which is sometimes a stylistic device used in conscious imitation of his opponent, but at other times, a reflection of strong anger.[132] In the _De cultu imaginum_, Jonas uses his authorities in a more controlled and independent way than in either the De institutione laicali or the De institutione regia. He has lost none of his regard for authority as expressed in Scripture and the Fathers, but he makes the chosen passages advance his arguments, not just embellish them, and he relies more heavily on fewer authorities, particularly on Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Jerome, and Saint Augustine. He gives evidence, too, of his knowledge of Ovid and Vergil, though the citations are too brief to allow any judgment of how far Jonas was acquainted with either of these authors.[133] He recognizes the difference between plagiarism and a responsible reliance on early writers.[134] Finally, he shows that together with the pastoral zeal which characterizes all his writings, he has a keen understanding of human nature.

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[130] _DCI_, 378-379. (Saint Jerome contra Vigilantium). "Si apostoli et martyres adhuc in corpore constituti possunt pro caeteris orare quando pro se adhuc debent esse solliciti, quanto magis post coronas, victorias, et triumphos? Unus homo Moyses sexcentis millibus armatorum impetrata Deo veniam, et Stephanus imitator Domini sui, et primus martyr in Christo, pro persecutoribus veniam deprecatur: et postquam cum Christo esse coeperint minus valebunt?"

[131] _DCI_, 379-380. "Nec tamen credendum est . . . illos [i.e., bishops] amittere jura judiciaria, cum hominem exeuntes ad vitam transeunt potiorem." _DCI_, 380: "Quia enim injusti sacerdotes careant potestate sanctis pastoribus attributa, si amiserunt jura, testis est beatus Gregorius ita dicendo: Unde fit ut ipse hac ligandi et solvendi potestate se privet qui hanc pro suis voluptatibus, et non pro subjectorum moribus, exercet."

[132] E.g., _DCI_, 312, 381, 382.

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[133] DCI, 362-363.

[134] DCI, 312. "Quoniam si ab his qui litteraria arte imbuti sunt vel tenuiter discutiantur, pene nihil in eis reperitur quo ars recte loquendi et scribendi non offendatur, exceptis his quae de aliorum opusculis furtim subripuit, et quibusdam subtractis atque mutatis, compilatoris usus officio, ut sua, suo inseruit operi." DCI, 330: "Haec non tua, Claudi, sed beati Cypriani sunt martyris verba, e quibus quaedam subtraxisti, quaedam immutasti, et ut tua propria posuisti."

CHAPTER III

ENVIRONMENTAL AND LITERARY INFLUENCES

An examination of Jonas' writings leaves no doubt that he is primarily concerned with promoting the Church's moral teaching. Whatever information his works may yield about prevailing customs and ideas, this information is certainly incidental to Jonas' own purpose in writing his treatises. Within Jonas' work itself, the primary reason for its moralistic tone is found in the author's avowed purpose, which can be seen by reading the prefaces to *De institutione laicali*, *De institutione regia*, and *De cultu imaginum*. These works should not be judged for anything else than they purport to be. Still, a man of another temperament, even one writing at Jonas' own time and in his own circumstances, might have placed the teaching in a richer doctrinal context. This is evident if we compare Jonas' teaching on charity, for example, with that of his contemporary, Paschasius Radbertus.[1]

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[1] See *Paschasii Radberti abbatis Corbiensis de fide, spe, et caritate libri tres*, in Edmund Martène and Ursinus Durand (eds.), *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio* (9 vols.; Paris, 1724), IX, 469-578, esp.

We have, then, not exhausted the possible answers to the question of the moralistic character of Jonas' works by referring to their purpose. Why did he tend to fasten on the moral dimension of Christianity, almost to the exclusion of all else? This chapter will seek an answer to the question in the external influences which exerted themselves on Jonas.

Interaction of cultures

Jonas was writing at a time of synthesis between two cultures which did not meet as equals. Though the physical impact of Roman and barbarian was so far in the distant past by the second decade of the Carolingian period that it hardly lingered as a memory among the men of Jonas' generation who lived in the heartland of the new empire,[2] nevertheless, the great gap between

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543-544, on the excellence of charity and its intrinsic relation to Christ.

Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1952), p. 38, calls attention to the atypical character of Paschasius Radbertus' work, which is marked by an independence of thought and power of analysis in sharp contrast to the work of most Carolingian writers, including Jonas, who were content to make uncritical compilations of earlier writings.

[2] It was Jonas' generation which coined the phrase *moderno tempore*, and Jonas made a significant contribution to the popularity of the new expression. Cf. *infra*, p. 251.

Jonas has a good sense of chronology, but not a good historical sense, because his factual knowledge of the past is meager. He antedates the great period the Germanic pagan tribal way of life and the classical civilization that the Church had assimilated showed on every level of life.[3]

In this period of cultural interaction, it was the moral aspect of the higher religion which elicited the greatest interest, because undoubtedly it was this aspect which seemed most relevant. We can infer this from the problems the bishops concerned themselves with in local and regional councils. The bishops may well have seen their social role as an educative one and realized that they could not transmit a doctrine until they had cultivated the proper dispositions in their prospective adherents. Closely related to this social relevance of moral education is another factor which

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of the chroniclers. Though he knows Saint Bede's Ecclesiastical History, he gives no indication of any acquaintance with the attempts at history writing among the Merovingians and Carolingians.

[3] Two examples from Jonas' own experience: (1) the references to sorcery and other pagan practices, *infra*, p. 290; (2) the case of the change of venue because of a clash of Roman and Salic law, *supra*, pp. 32-33.

A curious example of the mingling of Christian prayer formulas and local charms can be seen in a British Museum manuscript of the ninth century, Arundel Ms. 106, fol. 79^v: "Ad morbum porcorum super pane dicis in nomine patris et filii et spiritu sancti et oratione dominica et dicis aius est aius est aius est . . . et sic jejuni porci manducent." See also *Capitulare canonibus excerpta*, anno 813, in *MGH*, *Capitularia*, I-I, p. 174. "Ut presbiteri sub sigillo custodiant crisma et nulli sub praetextu medicinae vel maleficii donare praesumant: si fecerint, honore priventur."

promoted the emphasis on the moral aspects of religion, namely, the simplicity with which the bishops apparently viewed the moral message of Christianity. In seeking to bridge the gap between two cultures, the easiest subject for priests to preach about, especially when the preaching had to be done by inadequately trained priests, was morality. Theodulph of Orléans wrote to the priests of his diocese:

> We would encourage you to be prepared to instruct the people. Let the priest who knows the Scriptures, preach the Scriptures. On the other hand, if he does not know [Scripture] at least let him teach the people what he knows well, that is, to do good and avoid evil, and to seek peace and pursue it; because the eyes of the Lord are on the just, and his ears are open to their prayers, and so on. No one will be able to excuse himself, saying that he does not have the skill in language for constructing some kind of sermon. For he will soon see how effectively he can bring back those in error, and encourage the good, either by arguing, or pleading, or even by threatening them. Indeed, when, by God's gracious favor, we come together in a synod, let each priest be ready to explain to us how he has labored with God's help, and what fruit he has reaped. And if, by chance, he stands in need of any assistance, let him make this known, too, in a spirit of charity, and we will have no less charity in bringing him the help he needs.[4]

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[4] Mansi, XIII, 1001-1002. "Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes. Qui scripturas scit, praedicet scripturas: qui vero nescit, saltem hoc quod notissimum est plebibus dicat, ut declinent a malo et faciant bonum, inquirant pacem et sequantur eam: quia oculi Domini super justos, et aures ejus ad preces eorum, etc. Nullus ergo se excusare poterit, quod non habeat linguam, unde possit aliquem aedificare. Mox enim ut quemlibet errantem viderit, prout potest et valet, aut arguendo, aut obsecrando, aut increpando, ab errore retrahat, et ad peragendum bonum opus hortetur. Cum vero, Domino opitulante, ad synodum in unum

The textbooks written for the palace school at Aachen,[5] the large amount of legislation on education,[6] as well as exhortations like Jonas' own,[7] all reveal an educational ideal which was pragmatic and therefore confined largely to problems of conduct. In practice, transmission of the Christian way of life must have fallen far short of the ideal conceived by the leaders of Carolingian society. One reason for the gap between

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convenerimus, sciat nobis unusquisque dicere, quantum Domino adjuvante laboraverit, aut quem fructum acquisierit; et si quis forte nostro indiget adjutorio nos cum caritate admoneat, et nos cum caritate nihilo minus ei pro viribus adjutorium ferre non differemus.

For a discussion of the moral and religious aspects of Carolingian cultural interaction, see Christopher Dawson, Religion and the Rise of Western Culture (New York: Doubleday, 1950), pp. 23-25.

[5] Wilbur Samuel Howell (ed. & trans.), The Rhetoric of Alcuin and Charlemagne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941). See Alcuin and Charlemagne's dialogue on virtue, pp. 144-155.

[6] Among the many capitularies on education from the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis, the following is an apt illustration of the pragmatic and moralistic end of the Carolingian efforts. "Quam paucitatem utilitatem conferat ecclesiae Christi, quod is qui pastor vel magister nec cuiuscumque venerabilis loci esse debet magis studet in sua conversatione habere multos quam bonos, et non tantum probis quam multitudine hominum delectatur, plus studet, ut suus clericus vel monachus bene cantet et legat quam juste et beate vivat, quamquam non solum minime in ecclesia contempnenda sit cantandi vel legendi disciplina, sed etiam omnimodis exercenda . . ." Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis, anno 811, MGH, Capitularia I-I, p. 164.

[7] DIL, 134-135, 192-195, 197-199.

theory and practice was a language problem, arising from the insufficiency of the vernacular, and affecting the transmission of information to an extent that we will never know, save by deduction. We can only conjecture about the social situation implied in the seventeenth canon of the Council of Tours, in 813, which directed that each bishop should have a good collection of homilies that the people could understand "in rusticam Romanam linguam aut Theotiscam."[8]

Evolving feudal structures

Jonas was writing at a time when a new legal and social order was in its formative stage. In his pastoral concern, he was both willing and able to talk to men on subjects in which they were interested, and in a language they could easily understand. There is no doubt that the language itself helped color his concepts. This is seen in his use of feudal and military terminology.

In speaking here of feudal terminology, there is of course no question of imposing on the first half of the ninth century a vocabulary and set of concepts which were then only in a formative stage. "Feudal" as here used refers broadly to those relationships of mutual dependence which were characterized by some kind of homage, and usually sealed by an oath.[9]

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[8] Hefele and Leclercq, III, Pt. II, 143. On the unintelligibility of Latin to the ordinary people of the ninth century, see Curtius, European Literature . . ., p. 25. Cf. Saint Bede's recommendation to Egbert, Archbishop of York, to use the vernacular, PL, XCIV, 659.

Whatever may have been the origin of the use of the oath among the Franks, or its political implications,[10] neither the religious and moral dimension, nor the dangers of abuse were missed by bishops of Jonas' generation.[11] The oath which establishes a contract is for Jonas a model for the relationship he envisages between man and his Creator.[12]

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[9] Francois-Louis Ganshof, Feudalism, trans. Philip Grierson (3d Eng. ed.; New York: Harper and Row, 1961), p. 73 et passim, and Marc Bloch, Feudal Society, Vol. II: Social Classes and Political Organization, trans. L. A. Manyon (2d ed.; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), pp. 443-446, and Lot and Fawtier, Histoire des institutions francaises . . . , III, 5, on the importance of the oath in a society in which written contract is not highly developed.

[10] On the use of the oath among the Carolingian Franks, see Francois-Louis Ganshof, "Charlemagne et le serment," in Mélanges d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen (Paris, 1951), pp. 259-270, esp. p. 269, where Ganshof shows that after 800 there was an effort to limit the use of oaths of fidelity to hierarchical relationships. See also A. Dumas, "Le serment de fidélité et la conception du pouvoir du I^{er} au IX^{e} siècle," Revue historique de droit francais et étranger, 1931; F. Lot, "Le serment de fidélité à l'époque franque," Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, XIV (1935); and Odegaard, "The Concept of Royal Power in Carolingian Oaths," Speculum, XX (1945), 279-289, esp. p. 280, where the author shows that the promotion of the use of the oath by the Carolingian bishops was part of an attempt to offset the tendency to absolute power implied in the Roman imperial theory; and Marcel David, "Le serment du sacre du IX^{e} au XV^{e} siècle. Contribution à l'étude des limites juridiques de la souverainete," Revue du Moyen Age Latin, VI (1950), 5-272. David points out, pp. 8-9, that the Carolingian bishops had a problem in reconciling the use of oaths with the Gospel teaching.

Some features of the military component of feudalism were highly developed by Jonas' time. Nithard's description of a tournament in 842 suggests that mock battles were a popular sport.[13] Rhabanus Maurus describes the long apprenticeship that began in youth in order to produce the accomplished fighter.[14]

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[11] Theodulph, Capitula ad presbyteros parochiae suae, PL, CV, 199: "Ut a perjurii crimine fideles caveant." DIL, 221: "Cum in multis omnes, apostolo Jacobo teste, offendamus, apud utrumque ordinem, clericalem videlicet et laicalem, imo apud utrumque sexum, in incauta juratione valde et miserabiliter delinquitur. Putatur enim a quibusdam quod solummodo ille qui falsitatem super ossa alicujus sancti viri, aut super reliquias, aut super altare, aut Evangelia jurat, perjurii crimine teneatur obnoxius . . ."

[12] DIL, 128-129. "Proinde omnibus Christianis sollicite studendum est, ut tantae sponsionis, tamque salutiferi pacti memores, idque indiscusse inviolabiliterque servantes, hostemque antiquam, cui abrenuntiaverunt cum vitiis suis, spernentes, ad atria supernae civitatis mysterio sacri baptismatis, et Spiritus sancti dono, credentibus reserata, infatigabiliter scandere contendant."

[13] Nithardi historiarum libri III, MGH, Scriptores, II, 667: "Ludos etiam hoc ordine saepe causa exercitii frequentabant."

[14] ". . . videlicet pueri et adholescentes [sic] in domibus principum nutriantur, quatinus dura et adversa tollerare discant, famesque et frigora caloresque solis sufferre." Cited in Lynn White, Medieval Technology and Social Change (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 149.

This rigorous training helped shape the context in which the leaders of Carolingian society saw every facet of life. It would have been impossible for men living in a society so strongly conditioned by military mores to escape the full impact of the military metaphor in thinking about and expressing the moral teaching of the Church. Further, Jonas had personal experience of military action when he fought for Eudes, the Count of Orléans.

Thus, Jonas was using a popular figure when he spoke of the Christian life as a warfare between virtues and vices.[15] The foundation of the metaphor, which can be traced at least as far as Saint Paul, is attractive to Jonas, who writes about charity at battle,[16] and of vice attacking man.[17]

Jonas sees the clergy especially as belonging to the army of Christ,[18] and this is one reason why the laity should find it reasonable to obey them. The emphasis on the kingship of Christ is a corollary. The faithful glory in His company.[19] The tragedy of original sin is that a man thereby subjected not only himself, but also his heirs to the service of the wicked ruler, the devil.[20]

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[15] DIL, 247. "Hi sunt, ut venerabilis magister Alcuinus scribit, octo totius impietatis duces cum exercitibus suis, et fortissimi contra humanum genus diabolicae fraudis bellatores, qui, Deo auxiliante, facillime vincuntur a bellatoribus Christi per virtutes sanctas."

Cf. Theodulph of Orleans, "Fragmentum de vitiis capitalibus," MGH, Poetae latini Aevi Karolini, I, 445-452. "Duxque harum his superest inde superba lues. Arma sed haec posuit deus his contraria . . . " (p. 451).

[16] DIL, 128. ". . . caritas . . . prosilivit in medium, propulsans timoris infirmitatem . . ."

[17] DIL, 146. "Hoc est remedium ejus qui vitiorum temperamentis exaestuat, ut quoties quolibet impugnatur vitio, toties in oratione subdatur."

In none of this was Jonas original. Ernest Kantorowicz, in his study of the laudes regiae, shows that the entire character of the laudes in their Frankish form was soldier-like.[21] Christ is extolled as victor and king, commander or general. In the laudatory section, almost all the invocations are borrowed from the vocabulary of government and soldiership. He notes, "The laudes invoke the conquering God--Christ the victor, ruler, and commander--and acclaim in him, with him, or through him his imperial or royal vicars on earth . . ."[22]

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[18] DIL, 205. ". . . quantumque in presbytorum eorumque qui secum militiam Christi gerunt . . ." Monks are called soldiers of Christ in the charter granted by Charles to Jonas c. 840. Jarry, p. 64: "item monasterium sancti Maximini non procul ab eadem urbe consistens, ubi a militibus Christi modo sub sancto et religioso vivitur ordine." See Leclercq, La spiritualité du moyen âge, p. 107, on the idea of the Christian combat. He observes that the Carolingian period is marked by a tendency to order and moderation in asceticism. "Le chretien n'est plus le heros d'un combat individuel, mais le soldat d'une armée rangée en battaille, d'une milice organisée.

[19] Cf. DIR, p. 123. ". . . Christi militie sum mancipatus, jure fideliterque debui obsecundare ei quoquo modo."

[20] DIL, 125.

[21] Ernst Kantorowicz, Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 15-16. The author uses as model the second oldest version of the laudes from a psalter of c. 796-800. Cf. the analysis of a near-contemporary document in R. McNally, "'Christus' in pseudo-Isidorean 'Liber de ortu et obitu patriarcharum,'" Traditio, XXI (1965), 167-183.

Old Testament concepts

In seeking the origins of feudal mores, scholars have looked chiefly to Germanic tribal customs and Roman military institutions, and have found the genesis of the system in a synthesis of the two. A third element which must not be overlooked, however rarely averted to, is the inspiration of the Old Testament. It was not only in Alcuin's palace school that Charlemagne was known as David. While in official government documents Charlemagne and Louis were addressed as the most Christian Caesars, in unofficial writing they are spoken of as counterparts of David and Solomon.[23] Kantorowicz asserts that the Franks looked upon themselves as "the new sacred people of promise."[24] Old Testament history was the only history the Carolingians knew well, and they saw themselves as the continuators of that history.

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[22] Kantorowicz, p. 14.

[23] Monachi Sangallensis Gesta Karoli Liber II, MGH, Scriptores, II, 761-762. "Ut post mortem bellicosissimi David multo tempore finitimae gentes, manu fortissima subjugatae, eius filio Salomoni [sic] pacifico tributa dependerunt . . ."

> The roots of their history . . . were sought not in the profane evolution of the Greco-Roman world, but in the sacred tradition of the Old Testament. The Franks endeavored, as it were, to wheel into Church history as the continuators of Israel's exploits rather than into Roman history as the heirs of pagan Rome. Their armies . . . were compared with the columns of Israel leaving Egypt . . . with the army that witnessed David's victory over Goliath, or with the three hundred that fought under Gideon.[25]

Nor were Old Testament titles reserved for those in high places. If Carolingian rulers were modeled on Old Testament kings, Carolingian bishops found their counterparts in the prophets, and the very name of Jonas is a case in point, as is that of his metropolitan, Jeremy. Lower clergy, too, had their models. Theodulph tells his diocesan priests that they are the new sons of Aaron.[26] The very term populi as used by the

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[24] Kantorowicz, p. 56. The title was used by the Holy See. See also, Amalar of Metz, Liber officialis, Hanssens, II, 165: "Octo dies neofytorum cursum praesentis vitae monstrant. Sicut enim iter filiorum Israhel [sic], postquam transierunt Mare Rubrum usque ad terram promissionis, significat omnem cursum praesentis vitae, ita et conversatio neofytorum omnem cursum praesentis vitae, in quo nos oportet secundum resurrectionem Christi vivere."

[25] Kantorowicz, p. 14.

[26] PL, CV, 192-193. "Sicut enim episcopi Apostolorum in Ecclesia, ita nimirum presbyteri caeterorum

Carolingians finds its model in the Old Testament, according to Wallace-Hadrill, who explains that *populus* for the Carolingians was more evocative of the chosen tribe of the Old Testament than of the Germanic peoples or the Romans, and concludes, "When all is said, one has the impression that *populus christianus* conveyed a clearer and more significant meaning than did *imperium christianum* to the men of the ninth century. The significance of *imperium christianum* is debatable to us because it was debatable to them."[27]

Did any of this general influence of the Old Testament have a direct bearing on Jonas' thought and writings? Conditioned as he was by Old Testament thought, Jonas seems to have been much more strongly influenced by the New Testament and the Fathers. It should be noted that according to Etienne Delaruelle, the Old Testament influence on Jonas is so pronounced, and Jonas' moral teaching owes so little to the Gospel

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discipulorum Domini vicem tenent; et illi tenent gradum summi pontificis Aaron, isti vero filiorum ejus."

[27] J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Via Regia of the Carolingian Age," *Trends in Medieval Political Thought*, ed. Beryl Smalley (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), p. 38. Cf. the analysis of John Henry Cardinal Newman, "The Christian Church an Imperial Power," *Sermons Bearing on Subjects of the Day* (London: Rivingtons, 1879), pp. 219-236. Newman, pp. 228-236, shows the intrinsic relationship between religious ideals bred in Old Testament thought and the idea of the *imperium Christianum*.

and to Saint Paul, that his pastoral works could have been written before Christ. "Jonas, comme son temps, est un homme de l'Ancienne Loi."[28] Such a view, however, can hardly be defended in the face of abundant evidence from Jonas' own writings.

Diocesan statutes

Jonas' immediate predecessor as Bishop of Orléans, the learned Theodulph, undoubtedly had a formative influence on Jonas' writings. Theodulph's relationship to the story of Jonas' life and writings has been treated in Chapter I. Here we shall describe more fully the decrees for the diocese of Orléans drawn up during Theodulph's episcopate.[29]

While Jonas nowhere explicitly acknowledges direct dependence on the Capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes, this is not hard to explain. Theodulph had ended his days in disgrace as a result of complicity in a plot against the emperor. It would have been politically maladroit for a man in Jonas' difficult position to show his predecessor in a favorable light. Yet there is strong internal evidence that Jonas made good use of Orleans' fine library,[30] and that he used Theodulph's work as a source for his own.[31]

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[28] Etienne Delaruelle, "Jonas d'Orléans et la moralisme carolingien," Bulletin de Litterature Ecclesiastique, LV (1954), 139.

[29] Capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes, Mansi, XIII, 993-1010, and PL, CV, 191-208; and Capitulare secundum Theodulfi Episcopi Aurelienensis, in Carlo de Clercq (ed.), La legislation religieuse franque de Clovis a Charlemagne (Universite de Louvain, 1936), I, 323-351.

Clercq shows why the first capitulary must have been compiled before 813, and the second probably shortly after 813. See pp. 260, 266. He asserts that both works can safely be attributed to Theodulph. Given the illogical arrangement of the materials in the two capitularies, it would seem reasonable to hold as a hypothesis that both works were drafted by groups working under Theodulph's direction, or at least enjoying his patronage. It is hard to conceive of either work as the product of a single author.

The same conditions that guaranteed the popularity of penitentials in the eighth and ninth centuries, also worked in favor of capitula episcoporum such as Theodulph's.[32] Both filled a need of the lower clergy. The capitula were practical guides to the clerical life, and to the administration of parishes.[33] The great concern of the bishops who issued diocesan capitularies was to hold to the *regula canonica* and to the *instituto sanctorum patrum*. They were not innovators, these bishops who were moved by an instinct to seek order in the present by fidelity to the institutions and customs of the past. Fournier and Le Bras claim that the tendencies of the reform movement, of which the diocesan capitularies are one important element, can be recognized especially in the three following points which recur repeatedly: (1) a desire to strengthen the hierarchy, and notably the bishops' authority over their clerics and monks; (2) an effort to assure the strict application of rules concerning penance and marriage; (3) a determination to check the interference of the laity in sacred matters.[34]

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[30] Lesne, IV, 548-549.

[31] Reviron, p. 61. Cf. Theodulph, Mansi, XIII, 1004, with DIL, 130-131. Other examples are cited further in this section and in subsequent chapters.

[32] A list of episcopal capitularies of the period is found in A. Werminghoff, "Capitula episcoporum saec. VIII et IX," Neus Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, XXXVI (1901), 665-670. Clercq, I, 259, identifies four of Theodulph's contemporaries who promulgated decrees for their own dioceses, viz., Gerbald of Liège, Waltcaudus of Liège, Jesse of Amiens, and Haito of Bale. All five were members of the small group of prelates close to the Court. With the exception of Gerbald, all were signatories of Charlemagne's will.

[33] Fournier and Le Bras, I, 108-112.

These characteristics are all present to a marked degree in Theodulph's writings for his clergy. There is, besides, a clear recognition of the overriding importance of clerical education, and an attempt to regulate details of divine worship and to regularize ecclesiastical finances.

A summary outline of the form and content of the first of Theodulph's two capitularies will make more clear the noticeable correspondence in subject matter and in line of approach between Theodulph and Jonas.

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[34] Fournier and Le Bras, I, 114.

The Capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes is divided into forty-six articles. Theodulph begins by exalting the dignity of the priesthood, telling his priests that they are auxiliaries of the bishop, and that they must give an example of holiness to the people.[35] Article Two explains that priests must attend to sacred reading as an indispensable means of keeping alive an understanding of the truths of the faith. The next eighteen articles spell out in detail some priestly obligations and certain matters of liturgical practice.

When priests come to the diocesan synod they are to be accompanied by two or three clerics, and are to bring along their sacred vessels, vestments, and liturgical books. Theodulph explains that there is to be a Mass demonstration (Art. 4).[36] A later article explains that priests are also to give an account of their preaching (Art. 28).

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[35] PL, CV, 192-193. "Nobis enim a Domino dictum est, vos estis sal terrae. . . . Scitote vestrum gradum nostro gradui secundum et pene conjunctum esse. Sicut enim episcopi Apostolorum in Ecclesia, ita nimirum presbyteri caeterorum discipulorum Domini vicem tenent; et illi tenent gradum summi pontificis Aaron, isti vero filiorum ejus. Unde oportet vos semper memores esse tantae dignitatis, memores vestrae consecrationis . . ."

[36] Mansi, XIII, 996. ". . . Nec non duos aut tres clericos, cum quibus missarum sollemnia celebratis, vobiscum adducite; ut probetur, quam diligenter, quam studiose Dei servitium peragatis."

The priest is warned not to steal the flock of a neighboring parish (Art. 14). He himself should teach children to read, and should arrange to send some pupils to a monastic school or to one in the episcopal city (Arts. 19, 20).[37] Women are not to be tolerated in the priest's house--a prohibition which extends to the priest's mother and sisters (Art. 12).[38] Priests are to accept invitations to dinner only in order to use the occasion as an opportunity to give good advice (Art. 13).

A number of articles detail the proper use of church buildings and sacred vessels (Arts. 5, 9, 10, 18).[39]

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[37] Article 19 helps establish the authenticity of the capitulary, because it mentions places within the diocese identifiable from other sources. Cf. Theodulph's article with the version of it that appeared in England two centuries later. In the latter, all the place names are omitted. Mansi, XIII, 998, and Wilkins, I, 270.

[38] Clercq, I, 261, points out that Theodulph is revoking an earlier ruling which permitted a priest to have his female relatives as housekeepers. Theodulph may have been influenced by the situation in Charlemagne's court, where a kind of legalized concubinage prevailed. Theodulph himself explains, PL, CV, 195: "Quamvis enim canones matrem, et sororem, et hujuscemodi personas, in quibus nulla sit suspicio, cum illo habitare concedant, hoc nos modis omnibus idcirco amputamus, quia in obsequio sive occasione illarum veniunt aliae feminae quae non sunt ei affinitate conjunctae, et eum ad peccandum illiciunt."

[39] Cf. DIL, 147-149.

The priest should not celebrate Mass alone, nor in any place other than Church (Arts. 7, 11).[40] Women must not approach the altar or have places in choir (Art. 6).[41] Priests who have charge of private chapels should say Mass at a time which will not conflict with the parish Mass, which is normally at nine o'clock (Arts. 45, 46).

There is a sudden departure from the pointed style of these articles by the insertion of a long article describing the Christian way of life (Art. 21).[42] Here, indeed, may be found something which Jonas could have used as a topical outline for his De institutione laicali.

After the general outline of Christian conduct in Article 21, the capitulary takes up specific rules for the faithful who are under the pastoral care of the parish priests of Orléans. The faithful must observe Sundays and feasts (Art. 24).[43] There are detailed regulations for the observance of Lent: the faithful are to make their annual confession at the beginning of Lent; those who are permitted are to receive Holy Communion on all Sundays of Lent, on the three days before Easter, on the Feast itself, and during the octave; all are to observe the Lenten fast, give alms, settle disputes, and abstain from conjugal intercourse (Arts. 36, 41, 43).[44] The faithful should memorize the Our Father and the Creed (Art. 22), should pray morning and evening (Arts. 23, 29),[45] exercise hospitality (Art. 25),[46] and avoid perjury and false witness (Arts. 26, 27).[47] Merchants should show themselves moderate in the pursuit of gain (Art. 25). Children should obey their parents (Art. 33).[48]

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[40] Cf. CP, p. 642.

[41] CP, p. 639.

[42] Mansi, XIII, 999-1000. "Vitae Christianae compendiosa institutio . . . libuit nobis huic nostro capitulari inserere sententiam cujusdam patris de instrumentis bonorum operum, in qua magna brevitate quid agi, quidve vitari debeat, continetur." Closely related to Article 21 are two others: Art. 32, "Quod unusquisque opera misericordiae quae in alios corporaliter exercet, in seipso spiritaliter agere debeat," and Art. 34, "Vera caritas, quid nam sit."

[43] Cf. DIL, 201-204.

A few examples from Theodulph's capitularies helps greatly in constructing a picture of the world that Jonas knew. Here, if anywhere, we can get some insight into the actual state of a society which was being fashioned by Christian idealism implemented on the local level. Theodulph may have had as model the ancient regula canonica when he drafted his capitularies; still, it is impossible not to envisage a ninth century agrarian society in the following:

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[44] Cf. DIL, 172, 251-253

[45] Cf. DIL, 143.

[46] Cf. DIL, 231-234; CP, p. 614.

[47] Cf. DIL, 225-227.

[48] Cf. DIL, 195-196.

> We often see grain and hay stored in churches, and we want to impress on your minds that nothing is to be kept in the church except ecclesiastical vestments, sacred vessels, and books. If affairs other than those proper to a church are carried out there, we shall hear the Lord saying, "My house shall be called a house of prayer, and you have turned it into a den of thieves.[49]

In the next passage, there is the simple exposure of what must have been a constant temptation to a poor diocesan priest, especially to one of a new and struggling parish.

> No priest shall persuade the people of God's holy church to abandon their own parish and to come to his and to transfer their tithes as well. But let each priest be content with his own flock and his own church, since he should not do to another what he would not like done to himself, according to the gospel, "Whatever you want men to do to you, do the same to them." Whoever acts contrary to this regulation, or tries to resist this command, let him know that either he will be degraded, or that he deserves to be imprisoned for a long time.[50]

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[49] Mansi, XIII, 997. "Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fenum congeri, unde volumus et hoc penitus observetur, ut nihil in ecclesia, praeter vestimenta ecclesiastica, et vasa sancta, et libros recondatur: ne forte, si alia ibi quam oportet negotia exerceantur, a Domino audiamus: Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur: vos autem fecistis eam speluncam latronum."

[50] Mansi, XIII, 998: "Nullus presbyter fidelibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae de alterius praesbyteri parochia persuadeat, ut ad suam ecclesiam concurrant, relicta propria ecclesia, et suas decimas sibi dent. Sed unusquisque sua ecclesia et populo contentus, quod sibi non

There is genuine pastoral solicitude in the article which explains to priests how they are to instruct the faithful in the matter of private prayer.

> The faithful should be instructed that each day, if they cannot pray more often, they should pray at least twice, that is, in the morning and in the evening, saying the Creed, or the Lord's Prayer, or, "You Who made me, have mercy on me," or, "O God, be merciful to me a sinner," or, "Thanks be to God for the necessities of daily life, and because He has created us to His own image, and separated us from the beasts." . . . If the church is close enough, let the people say their prayers there; but if they happen to be on a journey, or by chance in the forest or in the fields, wherever they happen to be in the morning or in the evening, there let them pray, knowing that God is present everywhere, as the psalmist says . . .[51]

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vult fieri, alteri nequaquam faciat, juxta illud evangelicum, quaecumque vultis ut faciant homines, haec eadem facite illis. Quisquis autem contra haec constituta venerit, aut his monitis nostris reniti tentaverit, aut gradum se sciat amissurum, aut in carcere longo tempore retinendum."

[51] Mansi, XIII, 1000: "Dicendum illis [i.e., fidelibus], ut singulis diebus, qui amplius non potest, saltem duabus vicibus oret, mane scilicet et vespere, dicens symbolum, vel orationem dominicam, vel, qui psalmasti me miserere mei; vel etiam, Deus propitius est mihi peccatori, et Deo gratias, pro quotidianae vitae commeatibus, et quia se ad imaginem suam creare dignatus sit, et a pecudibus segregare. . . . His actis, et solo Deo creatore suo adorato, sanctos invocet, ut pro se intercedere ad majestatem divinam dignentur. Haec faciant, quibus basilicae locus prope est, occasione in silvis, aut in agris est, ubicumque eum ipsa hora matutina vel vespertina invenerit, sic faciat, sciens Deum ubique praesentem esse, dicente psalmista . . ."

Cf. the advice to Judith, cited in the article by Wilmart, Revue Benedictine, XXXIV (1922), 239. The author of the letter, probably Rhabanus Maurus, recommends morning prayers, daily Mass, and the Office

Two formulas are to be learned by all the faithful:

> All the faithful are to be instructed, from the youngest to the oldest that they are to learn the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; and that they ought to recite these, because in these two formulas is contained the entire foundation of the Christian faith; and that unless a man has memorized these two prayers, and believes them with his whole heart, and uses them often in prayer, he cannot be a Catholic.[52]

Finally, there is Theodulph's realistic approach to the problem of preaching, which has already been cited. Here, perhaps more than in any single article of the first capitulary, we are given some idea of what could be expected of the diocesan clergy of Orléans, and presumably, of the priests in any other diocese in central and northern France.

Is there any way of knowing to what extent the directives of Theodulph's diocesan capitularies were implemented? A liturgical scholar has called them "a sort of vade mecum addressed to his parish priests,"

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of the Feast, including the night office, but ends, p. 242: "In ecclesia etiam ad divinum officium audiendum stantes, non vos otiosis fabulis aut puellaribus jocis vel quaerelis occupari permittatis, sed cum tremore et reverentia sicut ante conspectum [dei]."

[52] Mansi, XIII, 1000: "Commenendi sunt fideles, ut generaliter omnes a minimo usque ad maximum orationem dominicam et symbolum discant: et dicendum eis, quod in his duabus sententiis omne fidei Christianae fundamentum incumbit; et nisi quis has duas sententias et memoriter tenuerit, et ex toto corde crediderit, et in oratione saepissime frequentaverit, catholicus esse non potuit."

and has made the further observation that "the popularity of [the capitulary] resulted in its becoming a new literary type."[53] While the capitularies have been studied chiefly as works which contributed to the climate in which were produced the false decretals,[54] such studies do not show how the capitularies affected the religious practices at the time they were promulgated.

We know that Theodulph had in Orléans a famous scriptoria. Some of the manuscripts which were produced there during his episcopate are still extant, and they tell a tale of wealth as well as skill, since they include the use of purple vellum and much gold--materials available only to the very wealthy in the late eighth and early ninth centuries.[55] Certainly on the material side there was every possibility of the publication of Theodulph's pastoral writings and their distribution to the priests of the diocese. That the writings were not ignored is attested by their influence far beyond Orléans.

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[53] Gerald Ellard, Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D. (Cambridge: The Medieval Academy of America, 1933), p. 32.

[54] Fournier and Le Bras, p. 108.

[55] Several manuscripts from Theodulph's scriptorium were on view during the summer of 1965, in Aachen, on the occasion of the Charlemagne exhibit held under the auspices of the Council of Europe. The manuscripts are described in Karl der Grosse: Werk und Wirkung (Aachen, 1965). Besides visiting the exhibit, the author of this thesis was given valuable information about the technical aspects of Theodulph's manuscripts by Mr. John Beckwith, Deputy Keeper of the Department of Architecture and Sculpture of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Mr. Beckwith discusses Theodulph's role as a patron of art and letters in his book, Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque (London: Thames & Hudson, 1964), pp. 14-16, 30.

Another factor not to be overlooked is that Theodulph's long episcopate was followed immediately by Jonas' long rule. Had the succession been interrupted by a bishop who had not shared Theodulph's views, his two capitularies might have remained on the Orléans scriptorium shelves, unused even as a reference. On the contrary, while Jonas may have been a political appointee, he did not mistake the dimensions of his office, nor the demands it placed upon him. While he certainly was not original, he was disposed to hand on the wisdom of his elders, as he himself tells us.[56] If we take Jonas only at his word, we will conclude that he was reading only Scripture, the great Fathers, Alcuin, and Bede. But if we read between the lines and compare his texts with the current popular works, we can also conclude that Jonas was reading Theodulph.

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[56] DIL, 124.

Carolingian theory and practice of baptism

In examining the factors which contributed to Jonas' overriding preoccupation with the moral aspect of religion, special attention should be given to the prevailing religious practices of his time. Here it will not be a question of examining dogmas, but rather of investigating popular religious beliefs as these are revealed in religious practices.[57] Jonas himself describes some of the religious practices with which he was familiar, and is, therefore, a witness of signal importance to the historian of religion and liturgy.[58] In order to assess the value of Jonas' observations, it will be useful to establish their context by gathering together some evidence from his contemporaries.

Closely related to the military and feudal frame of reference described in the second section of this chapter is the concept of baptism as analagous to the relationship between a vassal and his lord. Churchmen in the Carolingian period never lost sight of the supreme importance of baptism under its double aspect as an initiation rite and the means of applying to the soul the redemptive action of Christ. Here, there was a perfect fidelity to tradition. As will be seen, there was also a conscious and concerted effort to keep intact the rich symbolic ritual which gave to the administration of the sacrament a didactic force superior to any amount of preaching. What the Carolingian clergy did not realize was the wide gap between their own culture and that in which the ancient rite had developed.[59]

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[57] "It is no longer possible for the mediaeval historian to ignore these [liturgical and religious] studies and to deal cheerfully with the history of medieval thought and culture without ever opening a missal. The liturgy . . . is today one of the most important auxiliaries to the study of mediaeval history." Kantorowicz, p. ix.

[58] Amann, "Jonas d'Orléans," Dictionnaire theologie catholique, VIII, 1507. "L'Institutio laicalis permet en effet de se rendre un compte assez exact de la manière dont sont donnés à l'époque de Jonas, les divers sacrements."

Baptism in the early Church meant two things: first, and directly, that the baptized person became a member of the Church and was able to share in her life and worship; second, and indirectly, that the baptized person's social position now became one carrying a high risk of disgrace and death. Thus, the baptized was committed to a double life: on the one hand, a Christian life enriched with mysteries celebrated in rites revealed only to the initiated; on the other, a civic life in a suspicious society which looked upon the Christian as a religious fanatic of a particularly dangerous kind.

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[59] This statement calls for some qualification in the light of the continual harking back to the time of the early Church, a characteristic not only of Jonas, but also of his fellow bishops. Cf. infra, pp. 251-252. What the Carolingian bishops seem not to have grasped is the fact that the Church no longer existed vis-à-vis a State. In the ninth century Frankish empire, the Church and society were practically coterminous, and the Church threatened to become the sole State, a situation which would have been disastrous for the Church.

In studying the ancient baptismal practice through the eyes of the Carolingians, it is important to keep in mind what the ninth century bishops probably missed, namely, that baptism could not carry the same social implications that it had carried at the time the ritual was devised. The ritual had remained intact, but the world in which it was performed had not remained static. For the Carolingians, baptism had become the only means of entering civilization.

There is no doubt that in the Carolingian period the sacrament became debased by becoming politicized, and that the mischief did not stop there, but affected many other aspects of religious thought and practice. In using the sacrament which is the Christian initiation rite as a sign of political allegiance, less injury was done to those who were pushed to the water's edge than to those who condoned the pushing, no matter how upright their motives. This is not strange, if one accepts the principle, "corruptio optimi pessima."

Perhaps the best known example of what to modern eyes is an abuse of the sacrament of baptism is that which occurred as part of the conquest of border tribes by Charlemagne. Whether or not we can accept as fact the anecdote of the Northman who complained when at his twenty-first baptism he received a substandard white garment,[60] there is sufficient evidence from more reliable sources that this wholesale incorporation of a barbarian people into the Church and the kingdom by the simultaneous use of the sword and the sacrament had an effect on the way religious leaders came to see their missionary and pastoral role.[61]

A telling example occurs in the life of Saint Sturm, disciple of Saint Boniface and first abbot of Fulda. Eigil, Sturm's successor, from whom we have the following passage, was a contemporary of Jonas.

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[60] Monachi Sangallensis gesta Karoli liber II, MGH, Scriptorum, II, 762. ". . . una quidam seniorum . . . dixit ad imperatorem [Louis]: 'Jam vities hic lotus sum, et optimis candidissimisque vestibus indutus, et ecce talis saccus non milites set [sic] subulcos addecet, et nisi nuditatem erubescerem, meis privatus, nec a te datis contectus, amictum tuum cum Christo tuo tibi relinquerem!'" That the white garment hardly had its original meaning for the Northmen is suggested by the fact that it was given to the "converts" along with a full Frankish wardrobe, including arms. "Qui a primoribus palacii quasi in adoptionem filiorum suscepti, de camera quidem Caesaris candidatum, a patrinis vero suis habitum Francorum in vestibus praeciosis et armis caeterisque ornatibus acceperunt." Ibid.

[61] See Richard E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan," Speculum, XXVIII (1953), 704-705.

> After King Charles had reigned prosperously for four years he began to consider how he might gain the Saxon people to Christ, for they still remained savage and hostile to all their neighbors and were deeply attached to their pagan rites. He took counsel with the servants of God and asked them to pray that the Lord would grant his desire. Then he gathered together a mighty army, placed it under the patronage of Christ, and, accompanied by bishops, abbots and priests and all true believers, set out for Saxony. His purpose was to bring this people, which had been fettered from the beginning with the devil's bonds, to accept the faith and to submit to the mild and sweet yoke of Christ. When the king reached Saxony he converted the majority of the people partly by conquest, partly by persuasion, partly even by bribes, and not long afterwards he divided the whole of the province into episcopal sees and handed it over to the servants of God to evangelize and baptize.[62]

Eigil goes on to explain that the greater part of the territory was entrusted to Saint Sturm, who undertook the task of evangelizing the people who had been "converted . . . by conquest . . . by persuasion . . . by bribes." As could have been predicted, the Saxon Christians wore their new faith lightly. Eigil explains that "the Saxons, who are a depraved and perverse race, lapsed from the Christian faith and reverted once more to their former errors."[63] From Eigil's point of view, at least the worst was averted, since the attackers spared Fulda, but only after the monks had fled, carrying with them the body of Saint Boniface. It is the next and final sentence of this story which is the most significant, showing as it does the way the abbot of Fulda had come to look upon the missionary and pastoral function in its political setting. He tells us, "Then King Charles set out a second time for that country [of the Saxons] to establish by force of arms the Christian faith which had taken root there."[64]

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[62] MGH, Scriptores, II, 366-377. The translation used is in C. H. Talbot, The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany (London: Sheed and Ward, 1954), pp. 199-200.

[63] Ibid.

The story of the conquest of the Saxons is a striking, but not a singular example of the prevailing method of bringing Christianity to the frontier. The anonymous author of the Annales veteres francorum records naively the part played by baptism in the game of diplomacy between Charlemagne and the Avars.

> Then from the land of the Avars a certain ruler, Thodanus, came to the palace at Aix, together with his companions. The king received him honorably, and ordered him to be baptized, together with the men who had accompanied him.[65]

The examples from the Saxons and Avars just cited occurred in the decades of Jonas' youth, and the first, at least, in an area with which he was probably unfamiliar. The attitudes they reveal, however, were part of the general climate of the court where they represented part of an official policy. Thus, Jonas, whose entire episcopate was marked by involvement in governmental issues as these touched religion, could not have been unaffected by the thinking which emphasized baptism's political function.

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[64] Talbot, p. 200.

[65] Martène and Durand, Veterum scriptorum . . ., V, 904-905.

During Jonas' active years as bishop, we can find examples of the same attitude toward baptism which had characterized Charlemagne's reign, along with the evidence that not all bishops were content to let the prevalent practice go uncriticized.

Ermoldus Nigellus, in his Carmina in honorem Hludowici Christianissimi Caesaris Augusti, records the baptism of the king and queen of the Danes in the presence of the Frankish court at Ingelheim, in June, 826.[66] It was about this time that Jonas was writing in his De institutione laicali of baptism as a "pactum cum Deo." There is no doubt that for Harold of Denmark, besides being a "pactum cum Deo," his own baptism was a "pactum cum Ludovico."[67]

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[66] Ermoldi Nigelli carmina, MGH, Scriptores, II, 504-515.

[67] Nigellus, p. 512, describing the banquet on the occasion of Harold's baptism: "Ecce fide plenus [Harold] regi haec quoque verba profatur, sponte sua veniens procidit ante pedes: 'Caesar opime [sic] Dei cultor, rectorque tuorum, Quos tibi cunctipotens contulit alme Deus. . . .' Mox manibus iunctis regi se tradidit ultro, Et secum regnum, quod sibi jure fuit."

Another political baptism of note, and one which Jonas would certainly have known, was that of the emperor's son by his wife Judith. When it came time to baptize Charles, Louis sought Lothair's neutrality by having him stand as godfather at the baptism.[68] Politically, this seems a negligible detail, and events proved that as a piece of diplomacy the arrangement was worthless. In assessing the prevailing views concerning baptism, however, it is worth observing that the relationship of godfather, or fidejussor, to godchild had such a strong hold on men's imaginations that Louis was advised that such a relationship between potential political rivals could act as a check against political ambition, and a guarantee of peace.

Baptism in Jonas' day had not only political, but also economic overtones. In 825, Louis had granted a charter to the Jewish community in Lyons, making it mandatory for clerics to secure the consent of the owner before baptizing any slave of a Jewish household.[69] This action provoked from Agobard, bishop of Lyons, some fierce polemics against the Jews of Lyons, and one of the chief charges he held against them was their refusal to permit the baptism of non-Jewish slaves.[70] It cannot be said of Agobard that he was blind to abuse on the other side, for at about the same time that he was writing against the Jews, he penned a brief treatise, Contra praeceptum impium, in which he complained of slaves who sought baptism as a means of evading their lot.[71] But it is in an argument against the Emperor himself that Agobard lets us see that what Charlemagne had established as a pattern had not been changed by his son. Since the Emperor does not hesitate to compel conquered pagans to become Christians, argues Agobard, why does he uphold the Jews in their resistance to the baptism of slaves?[72] If Louis the Pious had ever attempted to answer that question, he would have been forced to admit that what was politically expedient in the one case, was also economically practical in the other.

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[68] Cabaniss, Agobard of Lyons, p. 49.

[69] MGH, Formulae, p. 310. "Habeant [Jews] etiam licentiam mancipia peregrina emere et infra imperium nostrum vendere, et nemo fidelium nostrorum praesumat eorum mancipia peregrina sine eorum consensu ac voluntate baptisare."

But it is not only in these single instances that we find a witness to the political and economic aspects of the most essential of the Church's sacraments. By Jonas' time, the whole social fabric was shot through with practices which gave baptism a political, economic, and social significance which would have been unthinkable in the early days of the Church. This can be seen in the part the baptismal font came to play in the development of the parish.

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[70] Cabaniss, Agobard of Lyons, pp. 47-48.

[71] MGH, Epistolae, III, 179-182.

[72] Cabaniss, p. 48.

The parish church with its baptismal font as an integral part was a feature of the general pattern in Gaul by the sixth century. _Ecclesiae baptismales_ were distinguished from simple chapels and basilicas.[73] From the seventh century, monasteries were forbidden to have baptistries.[74] One good reason for making such clear-cut rules was an economic one, as can be seen from a consideration of the matter of ecclesiastical tithes.

By the early ninth century, tithes had become a major part of the local church's income. Around the payment and distribution of tithes waxed many a struggle between clergy and laity, and eventually, between clergy and monks. Jonas is an important witness to the clerical-lay struggle.[75] In a period of rapid ecclesiastical expansion and church building, there was often a question of which church had the right to a particular tithe. In settling this question, the criterion came to be the church in which a person had been baptized. Only a few years after Jonas' death, this principle received papal approval, when Pope Leo IV wrote to the bishops of Brittany, c. 847, "It seems not only to me but to most men that tithes should be paid only to those churches where holy baptism is administered."[76] Commenting on this development, Giles Constable observes, "Tithes therefore tended to become a parochial revenue given almost in return for the sacraments."[77]

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[73] Imbart de la Tour, _Paroisses . . ._, p. 72.

[74] _Ibid_.

[75] Cf. _DIL_, 138-143, 204-211.

It is not out of keeping with what we know of Charlemagne, that while he was perfectly willing to use baptism as a means of political and even military advance, he was also concerned about the sacrament as a major part of his liturgical reform program. It was in the last years of his reign that he sent a questionnaire to those bishops within the empire who were metropolitans, a questionnaire designed to reveal whether there was need for a reform in the matter of the administration of baptism, parallel to that which Charlemagne and his advisers had decided was necessary in the case of the missal.[78]

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[76] *MGH*, *Epistolae*, V, 595. "De decimis juste ordine non tantum nobis sed et majoribus visum est plebibus tantum, ubi sacrosancta dantur baptismata, deberi."

[77] Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes from Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* ("Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought," New Series, No. 10; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 36-37.

Before answering, the metropolitans were to consult their suffragans, as is clear from the context.

> We want you to tell us personally, or to send us a written report, explaining how you and your suffragans instruct the priests and people entrusted to you about the sacrament of baptism.[79]

A word is in order about the term _sacramentum_ as used in this passage. Certainly the term did not carry the precise theological meaning it bears today. Any bishop reading Charlemagne's questionnaire would have been hard put to tell how many sacraments there were, or even precisely what a sacrament was, although it is perfectly clear from the use of the terms _sacramentum baptismatis_, _sacramentum baptismi_, and _conversionis sacramentum_ in the bishops' replies that baptism was understood as a sacrament.[80] Not only was there no consensus about the number of the sacraments, but, as can be shown in the case of the anointing of the sick, it was by no means clear where a layman's power to officiate in some of the Church's rites stopped.[81]

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[78] Clercq, I, 216, assigns Charlemagne's questionnaire on baptism to the years 811-813.

[79] _PL_, XCIX, 892. "Nosse namque per tua scripta aut per te ipsum volumus, qualiter tu et suffraganei tui doceatis et instruatis sacerdotes Dei et plebem vobis commissam de baptismi sacramento."

[80] Cf. Leidradus, _PL_, XCIX, 855-856; Amalar, _PL_, XCIX, 899; Magnus, _PL_, CII, 983-984.

In the ninth century equivalent of the standard dictionary, namely, Saint Isidore of Seville's Etymologies, written two hundred years earlier, sacramentum was first and foremost a military term. It is worth observing what a high degree of commitment the term sacramentum connotes for Saint Isidore, and presumably for the men who looked to him as the source for the meaning of words. Correctly or not, Saint Isidore explains that for the Romans, there were three ways of assembling an army. In time of crisis, a crowd which was little better than a mob could be counted on to meet the emergency. This was a conjuratio,[82] a band of men who swore to do a particular piece of work. Better than this kind of militant mob were those who could be trusted to respond to the more altruistic call, "Let anyone who wants to see the state saved, come and follow me." This, says Saint Isidore, is an evocatio.[83] But beyond the conjuratio, which may represent only a crowd of opportunists, and the evocatio, which solicits short-term volunteers, there is the sacramentum. He explains:

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[81] Yves Congar, Jalons pour une théologie du laicat (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1954), pp. 301-302. Cf. Theodulph's recommendation to lay folk to anoint the sick with the holy oils. Clercq, I, 349.

[82] PL, LXXXII, 347. "Conjuratio quae fit tumultu quando vicinum urbis periculum singulos jurare non patitur, sed repente colligitur multitudo, et tumultuosa in ira conflatur. Haec et tumultuatio dicitur."

> The sacrament, in which, after he has been called up, each soldier swears that he will not withdraw from the army until his term is completed. Now these are soldiers in the full sense of the word. They serve for twenty-five years.[84]

When Charlemagne asked the metropolitans "to tell us how you and your suffragans teach your priests and people about the sacrament of baptism," it is hard to conceive that the emperor, or anyone else, was unaffected by the military overtone of the term sacramentum. Certainly the Carolingians tended to see baptism as an enlistment in the army of Christ as well as a regeneration and incorporation in His Body, the Church.[85]

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[83] PL, LXXXII, 347. "Evocatio, dum ad subitum bellum non solum milites, sed et caeteri evocantur. Unde etiam consul solebat dicere: Qui rempublicam salvam esse vult, me sequatur."

[84] Ibid. "Sacramentum, in quo post electionem jurat unusquisque miles se non recedere a militia, nisi post completa stipendia, id est, militiae tempora, et hi sunt qui habent plenam militiam. Nam viginti quinqui annis tenentur."

[85] Lot and Fawtier, III, 5. The authors here discuss baptism in its social context, showing that the concept "sacrament" was used in a broad, general sense, to include order, matrimony, oaths of fidelity, royal anointing, and others. "Au plus jeune âge, l'enfant entre dans l'Eglise par le baptême: un sacrament. Dans l'Eglise, c'est-à-dire, dans la société." Cf. the use of the term fidei sacramentum

Today the historian can examine responses to Charlemagne's questionnaire by Amalar of Metz,[86] Odilbert of Milan, Leidradus of Lyons, Magnus of Sens, Maxentius of Aquileia, and Theodulph of Orléans. Strictly speaking, Theodulph's reply could be excluded, since he was not a metropolitan, but a suffragan of Magnus of Sens. However, his treatise is clearly one of those produced in answer to Charlemagne's interrogation, and has the added value of showing us that Magnus, at least, consulted his fellow bishops and did not simply copy his answer from the nearest available manuscript. This is an important qualification, since it lends support to a view which would like to see in Theodulph's writing on the subject a reflection of the

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in the Carolingian treatises, e.g., Leidradus, PL, XCIX, 857; Amalar, PL, XCIX, 899.

Cf. Nithard, Historiarum liber II, MGH, Scriptores, II, 657: Sed Bernardus more solito ad illum venire distulit, decens se cum Pippino suisque sacramento firmasse, ut neuter absque alterius consensu cum quolibet quodcumque pactum inire deberet." Ibid, p. 658: "Qui [duke of Brittany] adquiescens consiliis plurimorum Karolo munera mittit ac sacramento fidem deinceps servandam illi firmavit."

[86] Amalar's De scrutinio et baptismis has been the object of an argument over its authorship since 1612. For a review of the problem, see Duckett, Carolingian Portraits, p. 301. Duckett follows the scholars who incline to the view that the works attributed to two different Amalars are actually the work of a single man, Amalar of Metz. Whatever the authorship of the treatise on baptism, it forms part of the story of the French bishops' replies to Charlemagne.

actual state of baptismal practice in the diocese of Orléans. If this is presuming too much, at least we are fortunate in having among these Carolingian treatises one written by Jonas' immediate predecessor.

On the whole, the responses to Charlemagne do not necessarily reflect the common practice of the places from which they originate. The bishops fulfilled their assignments by copying from old rituals.[87] They were sufficiently astute to please the emperor by using Roman accounts.[88] In the replies there is, nevertheless, occasional evidence that the bishops imposed their own categories of thought on the sources they used in drafting their treatises.[89]

Amalar's treatise, De scrutinio et baptismo,[90] is a slavish copy of the Roman ordo, and while it tells us something of Amalar's methods of scholarship, would tell us little or nothing of the rite of baptism as practiced in his diocese, had he not, some years later, incorporated much of the treatise De scrutinio et baptismo in his Liber officialis.[91]

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[87] Clercq, I, 217. Cf. Epistola Alcuini XC, PL, C, 293. "Videtis quam fideliter, rationabiliter et prudenter haec omnia tradita sunt nobis observanda. Nemo catholicus contra Ecclesiae auctoritatem, nemo sobrius contra rationalem consuetudinem, nemo fidelis contra pietatis intelligentiam certare audeat."

[88] L. Duchesne, Les origines du culte chrétien (5th ed.; Paris, 1920), p. 108.

[89] This can be seen by comparing the treatises of the Carolingian bishops with those produced in the fourth and sixth centuries. Cf. Saint Augustine's De baptismo contra Donatistas libri septem, PL, XLIII, 107-244, or the Sermo de baptismo by a fourth century bishop of Barcelona, PL, XIII, 1089-1094, or the sixth century work attributed to Saint Ildephonse of Toledo, PL, XCVI, 111-172.

[90] J. Hanssens (ed.), Amalarii Episcopi opera liturgica omnia (3 vols.; "Studi e Testi" Nos. 138-140; Vatican City, 1948), I, 236-251.

The ideas about baptism expressed by Amalar serve to show how controlling were certain concepts in the mind of a man who had a preponderant influence in the shaping of the Carolingian liturgy.[92] Amalar talks of catechumens and of the scrutiny which preceded baptism. He explains godparents must be able to sing the Our Father and the Creed. He goes on to explain why infants are baptized, and discusses the relation of faith to the works of charity. There is a phrase by phrase explanation of the Our Father and the Creed, and a reference to the De catechezandis rudibus, which lets us know at least that this classic work of Saint Augustine was still attended to, though its method was certainly not adopted by the Carolingian bishops, simply because De catechezandis rudibus was a pre-baptismal catechesis for adults, and infant baptism was now the normal practice. Later, in the Liber officialis,

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[91] Cabaniss, Amalarius of Metz, pp. 28-29.

[92] Duckett, Carolingian Portraits, pp. 118-120.

Amalar was to recall that it was the custom to celebrate the night of Easter eve with great splendor, and that the eight days of the catechumenate preceding baptism represent the entire course of earthly life.[93]

Magnus of Sens' Libellus de mysterio baptismatis[94] is a brief work which begins with a discussion of the meaning of the term baptism.[95] Magnus notes that the threefold immersion signifies Christ's three days in the tomb.[96] He discusses the meaning of catechumenus as one who listens and learns before reaching the sacred font.[97] The unwary reader would think the catechumenate a regular procedure from Magnus' description, though he does offer some qualifications in his mention of infant baptism. In baptism, a man who has been the slave of the devil, the princeps peccati, makes his formal and definitive act of renunciation. The white garment marks him as member of the kingdom of Christ.[98] Confirmation and Holy Communion are included in the rite as a sign and seal of the baptized person's incorporation in the body of Christ.[99]

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[93] Hanssens, II, 78, 165.

[94] PL, CII, 981-984.

[95] PL, CII, 981. "Baptismum Graece Latine tinctio interpretatur, quia ibi homo Spiritu gratiae in melius mutatur."

[96] Ibid. ". . . et ab aquis elevatio Christi resurgentis similitudo est de sepulcro."

[97] Ibid. "Catechumenus autem audiens sive instructus interpretatur, ut audiat et discat, antequam ad sacrum accedat fontem, mystica Christianae religionis sacramenta, et tunc discat fidem sanctae Trinitatis et symbolum, et caetera quae Christiana admonet lex."

Theodulph's reply to the questionnaire is much more fully developed than is that of Magnus. In the De ordine baptismi ad Magnum Senonensem liber,[100] Theodulph finds it apropos to treat of the law of love as the distinguishing note of Christianity.[101] There is a good explanation of the Our Father and the Creed, and a full discussion of the question of infant baptism. Theodulph upholds infant baptism, while he also insists that adults should not be forced to receive the sacrament.[102] In the treatment of the devil's works and pomps and their opposite virtues, there is another example of a theme which was so appealing to Theodulph, a theme which his close associate Alcuin had favored, and which was to be incorporated later in Jonas' De institutione laicali.[103] Another idea very clearly expressed in Theodulph's treatise is that of baptism as a pact.[104] It may be that Jonas first came upon this idea by reading it in the works left behind in the Orléans library by his predecessor.

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[98] PL, CII, 983. "Deinde mystico velamine teguntur, ut intelligant se diademi regni et sacerdotii dignitatem portare, et tunc regiae dignitatis ornamenta et sacerdotalis verticis habeant tegumentum . . ."

[99] PL, CII, 984. ". . . ut in corpore Christi traditus, et ille in Christo maneat, et Christus in eo." Cf. Alcuin, De baptismi caeremoniis ad Oduinum presbyterum epistola, PL, CL, 614: "Sic corpore et sanguine Dominico confirmatur, ut illius sit capitis membrum qui pro eo passus est et resurrexit. Novissime per impositionem manuum a summo Sacerdote septiformis gratiae Spiritum accipit, ut roboretur per Spiritum sanctum ad praedicandum aliis . . ."

[100] PL, CV, 223-240.

[101] PL, CV, 227.

[102] PL, CV, 224-228.

In the Liber de sacramento baptismi ad Carolem Magnum Imperatorem[105] of Leidradus of Lyons, there is little that is distinctive. Leidradus has something to say of charity which is worthy of note in another context.

Maxentius of Aquileia, in his De significatu rituum baptismi,[106] associates the concept of pactum with the symbolum or creed, in such a way that the latter becomes suggestive of a feudal oath of fealty. Indeed, for Maxentius the creed is something more than this, for besides being a kind of oath, it is also analagous to the standard carried by an army in war.[107]

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[103] Cf. Alcuin, Liber de virtutibus et vitiis, PL, CI, 630; and DIL, 247.

[104] PL, CV, 231. "Quia igitur constat pactiones credentium esse duas, unam in qua abrenuntiatur diabolo et pompi ejus, et omnibus operibus ejus, alteram qua se credere confitentur in Patrem et Filium et in Spiritum sanctum . . ." Cf. Charlemagne, Capitula de causis cum episcopis et abbatibus tractandis, MGH, Capitularia, I-I, 163.

[105] PL, XCIX, 853-872.

[106] Maxentii epistola ad Carolem Magnum Imperatorem de significatu rituum baptismi, PL, CVI, 53.

Although it belongs to a slightly different category, the letter of Jesse, bishop of Amiens, on the rite of baptism, while not drafted as a reply to Charlemagne's questionnaire, was certainly directly inspired by it.[108] Since it was written for the priests of his diocese, it is perhaps more valuable than any of the official answers in giving an indication of what was desired by way of baptismal practice, even though the actual state of affairs may have fallen far short of Jesse's expectations as expressed in the directive to his diocesan clergy. Jesse is a valuable witness, also, because his path and Jonas' crossed on more than one occasion, and we can surmise that there should have been a mingling of ideas, as well.[109]

In the _Epistola de baptismo,_[110] Jesse takes full account of infant baptism, and stresses the importance of godparents.[111] He is greatly concerned to explain the catechetical function of the baptismal rite, and indicates that it is to be spread throughout Lent. Obviously, Jesse sees the rite as directed to the instruction of sponsors, not to the infants they hold at the font. There is, then, in Jesse's treatment, an ingenious adaptation of the ancient rite to current needs of the ninth century. We have no way of knowing to what extent the directives of this pastoral epistle were carried out by the priests in the diocese of Amiens. To the extent that they were carried out at all, they would certainly have provided the unlettered folk of any parish with a carefully planned and well developed course in Christian doctrine. Another interesting point about Jesse's treatment is that he seems to assume group baptisms, not baptisms of individuals. This, of course, is consistent with the desire to solemnize the sacrament only at Easter and Pentecost, a desire expressed in contemporary councils and in diocesan capitularies.[112]

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[107] _Maxentii collectanea de antiquis ritibus baptismi_, _PL_, CVI, 55.

[108] Clercq, I, 281-282.

[109] Jesse and Jonas were sent on a mission to Rome in 825. They also worked together at the Council of Paris in 829.

[110] _Jesse epistola de baptismo_, _PL_, CV, 779-796.

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[111] Jesse does not use the term _fidejussores_, but rather _susceptores_ to describe godparents. _PL_, CV, 783.

[112] As early as the Roman synod of 402 (Mansi, III, 1134), priests had been given permission to baptize at any time of the year. Easter and Pentecost

Having sketched the theory and practice of baptism that prevailed at the time of Jonas, we are in a better position to understand his own words on the subject. For Jonas, baptism is a kind of treaty, very much like the agreements one makes with a fellow man. By the _pactum cum Deo_, a man agrees to break his allegiance to the devil, and to follow the law of God.

> In baptism each of the faithful binds himself to God by the bonds of two pacts: by the one, he professes to renounce the devil and all his works and pomps; by the other, he professes that he believes in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit.[113]

It is true that Jonas sees baptism as something much more than this, as a regeneration brought about by the redemptive action of Christ.[114] However, his moral teaching flows from the contract concept. Since, in the case of infant baptism, a person baptized cannot understand his obligations, it is the oath-helpers,

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were kept as the preferred times. Cf. Theodulph's second diocesan capitulary, Clercq, I, 323-324. "Baptisterium qualiter peragant et qualiter verbis enuntiare possint, et de neglegentia in baptizandis infirmis, ne aliquem sub optentu infirmorum sanum baptizare praesumat nisi diebus statutis Pascha et Pentecosten."

[113] _DIL_, 128. "Duarum pactionum nexibus unusquisque fidelis Deo in baptismate se obligavit: altera qua abrenuntiare diabolo, et omnibus operibus ejus, et omnibus pompis ejus; altera qua se in Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum sanctum credere professus est." Cf. _CP_, pp. 615-617, and _infra_, p. 286.

[114] _DIL_, 126.

the fidejussores as Jonas always calls them, who must not only stand as pledge, but also assume the responsibility for his education in the Christian life.[115] There is no indication that this was conceived as much more than a moral education, a training both by word and example in the duties of a Christian. Here, Jonas shows himself less perceptive than his contemporary, Jesse of Amiens.

Carolingian theory and practice of penance

At the same time that Charlemagne had the bishops of the empire answering questions about the administration of baptism, the bishops themselves seem to have been much more concerned with reforming the administration of the sacrament of penance. It has been claimed that it is the sacrament of penance which is the distinguishing characteristic of the religious life of this period of Frankish history, and that this can be taken either as a consequence or a symptom of the preoccupation with moral problems which marks the age. What is certain is that on the part of a large group of bishops there was a running struggle to abolish, or at least to reform, the penitentials which were a regular part of pastoral care.[116]

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[115] DIL, 126.

The year 813 marked an important stage in this struggle, for in that year, at the regional councils of Châlons-sur-Soane and Tours, action was taken against the insular penitentials, in favor of public penance for public sins.[117] Events proved that the triumph of 813 did not mean the abolition of penitentials throughout the empire, but did contribute to the composition of some new ones that were decided improvements over the earlier models. The struggle over penitentials continued, and sixteen years after the Councils of Tours and Chalon, the bishops assembled at the Council of Paris came out once more in favor of suppressing penitentials, and of returning to the ancient penitential discipline of the Church.[118]

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[116] Etienne Delaruelle, "Jonas d'Orléans et le moralisme carolingien," Bulletin de Litterature Ecclésiastique, LV (1954), 129-131. Cf. Marcel David, La souveraineté et les limites juridiques du pouvoir monarchique du IX^e au XV^e siècle (Paris: Librairie Dalloz, 1954), pp. 107-113, where the author points out that the authority of the bishops during this period was moral rather than juridical. Public penance was an instrument of this authority. David cites the example of the penance of Louis the Pious at Attigny in 822, which was seen by the bishops as an act which would exalt, rather than diminish, Louis' power by appealing to Christian sentiment in order to cement union.

[117] Clercq, I, 308, and II, 190; Hefele and Leclercq, III, Pt. II, 1144-1145. Public penance affected only exceptionally grave matters, e.g., sacrilege, homicide, rape, incest, adultery, perjury.

[118] Infra, pp. 273-274.

The penitentials lasted such a long time because, like the diocesan statutes of the eighth and ninth centuries, they filled a need. They made the moral authority of the Church a social force to be reckoned with, and in this way the Church provided a counterweight to the coercive power of the king. To undereducated priests, the penitentials gave clear directives on details, where a general statement of principle would have afforded nothing but confusion. By the ninth century there were new and improved penitentials replacing the old ones, because what the bishops actually wanted was not the disappearance of the penitentials, but their perfect orthodoxy. This, rather than their total suppression, was the more realistic aim, and it had a partial and temporary success.[119]

The oldest penitential which is representative of this reform movement is that of Halitgaire, Bishop of Cambrai (817-831).[120] Halitgaire, a contemporary and associate of Jonas, and one of the bishops at the Council of Paris in 829, wrote his penitential at the request of Ebbo, the bishop of Reims. Halitgaire's penitential is arranged in six books, of which the first two are a treatise on the virtues and vices, similar to Theodulph of Orléans' treatment in his second diocesan capitulary, and to Jonas' handling of the same subject in the De institutione laicali. Halitgaire's explanation of the eight principal vices and their remedies is dependent on Julianus Pomerius' development in the De vita contempliva. From Pomerius, Halitgaire also borrows his treatment of the active and contemplative life.[121]

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[119] Fournier and Le Bras, p. 112.

[120] PL, CV, 653-710.

Halitgaire's penitential reflects an effort to give a doctrinal basis to the prevailing penitential practice. The first two books give moral principles, and the next three present a collection of canons. Only the sixth and final book presents the penitential manual proper, with its list of specific penances for each category of sins.

Because of his close relationship to Jonas, we are much more interested in a penitential included in Theodulph of Orléans' second diocesan capitulary which was written after the Councils of Chalon and Tours and which attempted to follow the council's directives on the administration of penance. Here is presented a graphic picture of the practice which should have been in force in the diocese when Jonas succeeded to the see in 818 or 821. In the light of the emphasis Jonas places on confession in the De institutione laicali, it will be useful to examine Theodulph's words on the subject.

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[121] Fournier and Le Bras, pp. 108-110.

From Theodulph we learn that all the faithful are to present themselves to a priest for confession once a year, during the week immediately before Lent.

> One week before the beginning of Lent, the faithful are to confess to their priests, and accept their penance. The discordant should be reconciled, and all quarrels should be ended, and the faithful ought to forgive one another's offenses with their whole heart, in order to say more sincerely, "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us." By entering the time of Lent in these dispositions, they will come to Easter with purified minds, and will have renewed themselves through penance, which is a second baptism.[122]

At this annual confession, the penitent makes a general confession covering his entire life.[123] The priest is expected to assist the penitent by asking him questions from the penitential, but not everything, remarks Theodulph, "because there are many vices detailed in the penitential which a man should not even know."[124] The confession completed, the priest should have the penitent recite the Creed, and should have him promise to forgive all who have offended him, and promise God that he will amend his life.[125] After this, the priest is to consider the "magnitudinem culparum" and impose a suitable time and mode of penance. Finally, the priest should recite over his penitent the seven penitential psalms, together with the prayers in the sacramentary, and then "absolve him in peace."[126]

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[122] Mansi, XIII, 1004. "Hebdomada una ante initium quadragesimae confessiones sacerdotibus dandae sunt, poenitentia accipienda, discordantes reconciliandi, et omnia jurgia sedanda: et dimittere debent debita invicem de cordibus suis, ut liberius dicant: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris, et sic ingredientes in beatae quadragesimae tempus, mundis et purificatis mentibus ad sanctum pascha accedant, et per poenitentiam se renovent quae est secundus baptismus . . ."

[123] Clercq, I, 334. "Qui autem confitetur, flectat genua cum sacerdote coram Deo, et tunc confiteatur quicquid a iuventute recordari potest ex omnibus malis quae gessit."

In Article 15, we read that the priest is to act as spiritual guide as well as judge, and that he is to adjust the penance not only to the gravity of the sin, but also to the dispositions and state of the penitent. The priest should try to discover the circumstances of the sin and the underlying cause, "so that when he has discovered the root of the sin, he can administer a suitable remedy."[127]

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[124] Clercq, I, 345. "Sed tamen non omnia crimina debet ei innotescere, quoniam multa vitia recitantur in poenitentiale quae non decent hominem scire. Ideo non debet eum sacerdos de omnibus interrogare, ne forte cum ab illo recesserit, suadente diabolo in aliquod crimen de his quae ante nesciebat cadat. Cf. *ibid*., p. 351: "Sciat autem sacerdos quod confitentium singulas culpas investigare non debet, sed qualem maiorem invenerit, de eius casus iudicabit."

[125] Clercq, I, "Et postquam ita omnia peccata sua confessus fuerit, facis ei simbolum dicere et omnibus qui in se peccaverunt dimittere et emendationem promittere Deo, ne iterum ad illa peccata redeat."

[126] *Ibid*. "Deinde super eum septem psalmos poenitentiales cum orationibus quae sunt in sacramentorio dicat, et absolvat eum in pace."

Although "the manner of the penance is left to the judgment of the priest,"[128] Theodulph lays down some guide lines for his clergy. "If a man has committed a theft, let him do penance for seven years, three of these on bread and water. . . . If he committed the theft through necessity, the penance should be mitigated."[129]

Theodulph, like Halitgaire, makes much of the eight capital sins in his penitential.[130] Already in his first capitulary, he had given detailed directions for questioning the penitent according to an outline of the eight principal vices, and in the second capitulary we read:

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[127] Clercq, I, 328. "De confessionibus fidelium accipiendis et diiudicandis et consiliis dandis, ... Et cum invenerit unde radix illius peccati processit, tunc congruam adhibeat medicinam."

[128] Clercq, I, 330. "Poenitentiae quippe modus in sacerdotis pendet arbitrio."

[129] Clercq, I, 334. "Furtum si quis fecerit, septem annos poeniteat, tres in pane et aqua; secundum furti qualitatem, ita et modus erit poenitentiae. Si per necessitatem furtum fecerit, levigetur.

[130] Clercq, I, 341-344.

> When a priest hears the confessions of the faithful, he should instruct the one confessing to make a confession about the eight principal vices, and to promise amendment and to undertake the penance which is a remedy for his soul.[131]

Theodulph explains, "These are the eight principal vices which are the roots of all the others, and unless a man cleanses himself of these through confession and penance . . . they will lead him into hell."[132] That these eight capital vices are more than tendencies in Theodulph's view is clear from another article of the capitulary which states: "Let it be understood that if a bishop is guilty of any of the eight principal vices, he should do penance for fourteen years; a priest for twelve, a deacon for eight, a cleric six, and a layman four."[133]

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[131] Clercq, I, 341. "Sacerdos cum a fidelibus confessionem accipit, inter cetera debet confitentem ammonere ut de octo principalibus vitiis confessionem faciat, et emendationem promittat, et penitentiae medicinam animae suae suscipiat."

Cf. Theodulph's earlier capitulary, Mansi, XIII, 1002. "Debet ei etiam injungi, ut de octo principalibus vitiis faciat suam confessionem, et nominatim ei debet sacerdos unumquodque vitium dicere, et suam de eo confessionem accipere."

[132] Clercq, I, 344. "Haec octo principilia vitia et illa quae de radicibus eorum oriuntur, nisi mundaverit quis hic per confessionem et poenitentiam, non possunt mundari in die iudicii, sed deducunt homines in infernum."

[133] Clercq, I, 345. "Sciendum autem quod si quis episcoporum in aliquo de octo principalibus vitiis principaliter inquinatus sit, quatuordecim annis poeniteat, presbiter duodecim, diaconus octo, clericus sex, laicus quatuor."

It is clear that Theodulph is struggling with problems of moral theology without much help from Scripture and the Fathers. It is to Saint Isidore of Seville that he turns for an explanation of lesser sins which can be cleansed "igne purgatorio." These lesser sins include "being slow about visiting the sick . . . sudden burst of anger, an anger which is not harbored in the heart, and drunkenness, if this is not a regular occurrence."[134] Other "minora peccata" include striking a man hard enough to draw blood, and robbing burial monuments for domestic building purposes.[135] Theodulph is careful to explain the difference between losing one's temper and holding a grudge. It is a small thing if a man's anger leads only to a few well aimed blows, but "anger which remains in the heart, and generates hatred, and wants revenge, that is one of the principal vices."[136] Theodulph's recommendations for curing this vice should have made any penitent more careful the second time. "Let a man live on bread and water for the same length of time he has hated his brother."[137]

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[134] Theodulph is here following Saint Isidore of Seville's De ordine creaturarum, PL, LXIII, 949.
Clercq, I, 346. ". . . tarditas infirmos visitandi, ad ecclesiam veniendi, eleemosinam dandi, ira repentina quae non tenetur in corde, ebrietas si non frequenter."

[135] Clercq, I, 346. "percutere hominem ut sanguis fluat, truncare membrum hominis ut non moriatur . . . violare mortuorum sepulchra causa fabricandi ibi domum . . ."

[136] Clercq, I, 346. "Nam ira quae manet in corde et odium generat et desiderat vindictam inter principalia peccata reputatur."

The capitulary provides two samples of priestly exhortation for the confessional.[138] Theodulph directs his priests to excommunicate public sinners who will not submit to penance. If for friendship, fear, or gain, a priest fails in this duty, he will himself be excommunicated.[139]

There is also an article to take care of the case of a sick person who is unable to make his confession when the priest comes. Here is a significant instance of the concept of community solidarity applied to the matter of the penitential discipline of the Church. Theodulph explains that if a sick man has asked to go to confession and is unable to speak when the priest arrives, those who have been with the sick man from the beginning are to tell the priest the desires the sick man expressed. "And then the priest will perform the suitable rite, and impose a penance on his oathhelpers, and they will perform the penance on his behalf."[140] Given the severity of the penances as outlined in Theodulph's penitential, it is hardly fanciful to picture the Orléans folk calling the priest long before the sick man had reached the stage where he was no longer able to make his own confession.

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[137] Clercq, I, 346. "Odire vero fratrem, in quo odio quanto tempore fuerit, tanto spatio in pane et aqua vivat."

[138] Clercq, I, 328-329, 351.

[139] Clercq, I, 327.

We have no way of knowing how far Theodulph's directives about the administration of the sacrament of penance were carried out. What we do know is that they had a decided effect on the thinking of his successor. Jonas has much to say about confession in the _De institutione laicali_, and Theodulph's writings on the subject in his diocesan capitularies lets us know what would certainly have been a most likely source for Jonas' ideas. The similarities between Jonas' writings and Theodulph's teaching on confession will be further explored in Chapter V and in Chapter VI, which treats the Council of Paris, 829. At the Paris Council, what had been diocesan regulation a generation earlier, became the rule for more than twenty dioceses. The intermediary between Theodulph's penitential and the council fathers was Jonas of Orléans.

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[140] Clercq, I, 347. "Et tunc sacerdos commotus officium circa eum adimpleat, et fidejussoribus eius poenitentiam eius pro eo imponat, et illi pro eo adimpleant."

Julianus Pomerius, De vita contempliva

Among the lesser writers on whom Jonas drew for his ideas, Julianus Pomerius holds a prominent place.[141] Jonas always refers to him as Prosper of Aquitaine, the champion and popularizer of Saint Augustine. This mistaken attribution became common before the middle of the eighth century and persisted until the seventeenth. It accounts for Julianus' popularity among writers of the early medieval period.[142]

Julianus Pomerius was an African priest who emigrated to Europe and became teacher of Saint Caesarius of Arles in the late fifth century. His only extant work, and the only one Jonas knew, is _De vita contempliva_, a pastoral treatise in three books.[143]

The title of the work is misleading. The author was attempting to instruct his fellow clergy on the means of combining in their ministry the active life with the contemplative. The first book discusses the relationship between the active life and contemplative life, and the question whether a bishop, busy with the cares of his office, can aspire to the contemplative life.[144] The second book, like the first, is intended specifically for bishops, and discusses difficulties encountered by those who attempt to unite action with contemplation.[145] The third book, pertinent to all Christians, treats virtues and vices seen as necessary means to the attainment of a contemplative life.[146]

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[141] Jonas quotes Pomerius eight times in the _DIL_. In almost each case, it is a long excerpt.

[142] Sister Mary Josephine Suelzer (trans.), _Julianus Pomerius: The Contemplative Life_ (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1947), p. 1. Saint Isidore of Seville attributed the work correctly, and was the key to the modern discovery of the authorship of the _De vita contempliva_.

[143] _PL_, LIX, 415-520.

The De vita contempliva, for all the author's reputation as a transmitter of Augustinian thought, is a shallow work, with only a slight penetration of Scripture and the Fathers. If it has any claim to freshness of insight, it is in Book Three, Chapter Twenty-eight, where Julianus Pomerius discusses justice as a social virtue.[147]

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[144] Suelzer, p. 14.

[145] Suelzer, p. 55. Foreword to Book Two. "How priests also should treat and rule their subjects--commoners and nobles, the rich and powerful--the sequel of this book will contain."

[146] Suelzer, p. 100. "In the first volume I dealt with the contemplative life and the questions to what extent the active life differs from it and how you can with the help of God become a sharer in the contemplative virtue itself. In the second book I treated . . . the active. . . . Now it remains for me to undertake a discussion of the vices and the virtues. . ."

[147] Suelzer, p. 155. "Chapter 28. The social virtue. Those do wrong who do not help human society

The De vita contempliva was used shortly before Jonas' time by Theodulph of Orléans, in his De Spiritu Sancto,[148] and shortly after Jonas by Rhabanus Maurus in the Tractatus de anima.[149] Citations from it also occur in the records of the Synod of Aachen (817),[150] and the Council of Paris (829).[151]

In the De institutione laicali, Jonas quotes passages from all three books of the De vita contempliva. The topics treated in these citations, in the order in which they occur, include the following: Christ as restorer of goods lost in Adam, fasting, the difference between idle curiosity and fraternal charity, envy, the last judgment as a motive for avoiding sin, hell, and heaven.

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when they can. Now, justice, whereby those who have practiced it become just, is regarded as something of a social virtue because it grows with the kindness it shows others. . . . In view of this one should consider whether they act justly who, removing themselves from all occupations and devoting themselves to spiritual pursuits, do nothing for human society and, preferring their own desires to the advantage of all, disregard the common good by choosing a welcome freedom."

Cf. Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis liber, PL, CI, 637-638; DIL, 218-219.

[148] PL, CV, 259-276.

[149] PL, CX, 1109-1120.

[150] Mansi, XIV, 231.

[151] Cf. infra, pp. 259-260.

There is an unmistakable similarity in the concept of virtue and vice as seen by Julianus Pomerius and Jonas. This is first evident in the organization of their material, an organization somewhat haphazard because it derives from a use of sources which is eclectic and not very penetrating. In three particulars the resemblance is especially pronounced, and gives some idea of how far Julianus Pomerius may have influenced the Bishop of Orléans. The first of these is the passage on envy quoted by Jonas. For Jonas, envy was one of the ruling vices which lay at the root of both personal moral disorder and its consequent social ills. Here, the evidence of Julianus Pomerius' influence is direct.[152] Second, the _De vita contempliva_ may well explain how Jonas' key concept of charity as _bona voluntas_ reached the ninth century.[153] Third, there is a strong affinity between Julianus Pomerius' treatment of justice as a social virtue, and Jonas' consistent concern for social responsibility as the acid test of authentic Christian morality. Julianus

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[152] Cf. _DIL_, 211ff.; Alcuin, _De virtutibus_, _PL_, CI, 630.

[153] _PL_, LIX, 493. "Caput XIII. De laude caritatis. Caritas est, ut mihi videtur, recta voluntas ab omnibus terrenis ac praesentibus prorsus aversa, juncta Deo inseperabiliter, et unita, igne quodam sancti Spiritus, a quo est, et ad quem retentus, incensa." Cf. _DIR_, pp. 159-161, and _infra_, pp. 214-215.

Pomerius' treatment is more theoretic and clear in its description of the principle, while Jonas is much more forceful in his applications. The keen awareness of the problem is shared by both.

Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis liber

As a contemporary of Lupus of Ferrières, Walafrid Strabo, and Amalar of Metz, Jonas belongs to the second generation of the Carolingian renaissance, the movement which found its literary focus in the palace school in Aachen. Psychologically, however, because of his interests, he finds his place with the men of the first generation of the movement, and most especially with Alcuin.[154]

Jonas and Alcuin shared a moralistic approach to life and learning, exemplified in Alcuin's case by such a work as his De rhetorica et virtutibus.[155] The two references to Alcuin's De virtutibus et vitiis liber in the De institutione laicali do not tell the whole story of the relationship of Alcuin's work to that of Jonas.[156] An examination of the De virtutibus et vitiis liber[157] will show several striking resemblances between the two works.

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[154] Delaruelle, Bulletin de Litterature Ecclési-astique, LV (1954), 133.

[155] Wallach, Harvard Theological Review, XLVIII (1955), 175. The author sees the De rhetorica et virtutibus as a via regia for Charlemagne, and the oldest of the specula principis.

Like Jonas' work, Alcuin's treatise is addressed to a layman, Wido, the Count of Brittany, who had asked Alcuin for a book of Christian doctrine suitable for one in his state of life. What Wido wanted was a manual that he could use amid the distractions of secular business. The preface of the work is so similar to that of Jonas that it might well have served as his model. Alcuin wrote:

> We remember your request and our promise to write some short sermons that you could have always at hand in your warlike life, words to incite you to zeal for heavenly beatitude. My incompetence will be evident, nevertheless, you will understand that these words have been dictated by the strength of holy charity. I have put the material in short chapters so that you can memorize it more easily, since I realize that you are busy with many secular concerns. So I would encourage the holy zeal you show for your salvation, and hope that you will turn often to this reading, as though hurrying to a place of rest. . . . Since you have been after me so long to write these little exhortations, I beg you, humbly, to read them often.[158]

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[156] DIL, 247, 239. In the first example, Jonas acknowledges his source.

[157] Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis liber, PL, CI, 613-638.

[158] PL, CI, 613-614. "Memor sum petitionis tuae et promissionis meae, qua me obnixe flagitasti, aliqua tuae occupationi quam te in bellicis rebus habere novimus

The body of Alcuin's work is much shorter than Jonas' treatise, and shows the same lack of logical organization. Alcuin's treatise gives even less attention to doctrinal themes than does Jonas', except when these themes are directly and obviously concerned with morality. The thirty-six short chapters treat the following:[159]

1. Wisdom
2. Faith
3. Charity
4. Hope
5. Zeal for reading
6. Peace
7. Mercy
8. Forgiveness
9. Patience
10. Humility
11. Compunction
12. Confession
13. Penance
14. Conversion
15. Fear of the Lord
16. Fasting
17. Almsgiving
18. Chastity
19. Avoiding dishonesty
20. Judgments
21. False witnesses
22. Envy
23. Pride
24. Anger

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exhortamenta brevi sermone conscribere, ut habeas jugiter inter manus manuales paternae admonitionis sententias, in quibus teipsum considerare debuisses, atque ad aeternae beatitudinis excitare studium. . . . Quos etiam, quamvis minus eloquenter videas esse compositos, tamen certissime scito sanctae charitatis vigore eosdem esse dictatos. Singulis siquidem hujus sermonis seriem distinxi capitulis, quatenus facilius vestrae devotionis memoriae haec mea dicta inhaerere potuissent; sciens te in multis saecularium rerum cogitationibus occupatum. Unde precor sanctum salutis vestrae desiderium, ad harum saepius, quasi ad quoddam recurrere solatium, litterarum lectionem. . . . Sicut meas diligenter flagitasti piae exhortationis litterulas, ita te humiliter deposco, ut easdem saepius relegere digneris."

[159] It has been suggested that actually the _De virtutibus_ as it stands in the _PL_ is two works, or even three. _PL_, CI, 631-634.

25. Avoiding praise
26. Perseverance in good works
27. Eight principal vices; pride
28. Gluttony
29. Fornication
30. Avarice
31. Anger
32. Sloth
33. Sadness
34. Vain glory
35. Four virtues
36. Conclusion

The passage which Jonas cites in the De institutione laicali is in Chapter Thirty-four of Alcuin's work, and in Book Three, Chapter Six, of Jonas' treatise. It explains that there are eight vices which are leaders (duces), each with its army, waging war against man. "These are easily conquered by Christ's warriors by means of the holy virtues."[160] The eight vices and their opposite virtues are then listed: pride is conquered by humility, gluttony by abstinence, fornication by chastity, avarice by generosity, anger by patience, laziness by zeal in good works, sadness by spiritual joy, and vain glory by the love of God. The chief importance of this passage, aside from its interest as an early example of the type of metaphor which was to find its later development in morality plays, is in the concept of Christian morality as a battle between virtues and vices. This was a frame of reference which suited well the needs of Alcuin and Jonas in writing their manuals of Christian living for laymen.

It has been claimed that a hidden source of the De virtutibus et vitiis liber is Defensor's Liber scintillarum, a florilegium which was very popular in the ninth century. The relationship of Alcuin's work to that of Defensor raises the question of florilegia as a source for Jonas' own treatise, but offers no clear evidence towards a solution.[161]

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[160] PL, CI, 637. "Deo auxiliante facillime vincuntur a bellatoribus Christi per virtutes sanctas."

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[161] Dom H. Rochais, "Le 'Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis' d'Alcuin," Revue Mabillon, XLI (1951), 77-86. Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices," Harvard Theological Review, XLVIII (1955), 175-195, emphatically disagrees with Rochais' argument.

CHAPTER IV

PASTORAL WRITINGS AS A MIRROR OF CAROLINGIAN SOCIETY

The sparseness of documentary material has prevented historians from achieving a rich, carefully nuanced description of Frankish society in the period of disintegration of the empire which set in almost immediately after the death of Charlemagne in 814. The year of the Treaty of Verdun (843) which coincides with the date of Jonas' death, or at least of his disappearance from the scene of ecclesiastical affairs in which he had played an active part for some twenty years, marks only the political settlement of a struggle for power between Louis the Pious' sons and the military and economic forces each commanded. Underneath the political and military turmoil the more permanent social structures of France and the Germanies were slowly evolving, and it was in this evolutionary process that Jonas of Orléans and his fellow bishops played their vital part.

In this chapter, Jonas' writings, particularly the De institutione laicali, will be examined for the evidence they yield about the social structure of Orléans and its environs in the reign of Louis the Pious and the first years of the reign of Charles the Bald. Jonas describes no political events of major importance, but he does something equally valuable in speaking directly to a count, a king, and his fellow bishops about their responsibilities.

It is important to bear in mind that in society as Jonas saw it, there was no clear division, much less a conflict, between Church and State. For Jonas, these abstractions are simply nonexistent. Therefore, in discussing Jonas' writings as they touch on the structures of society, it will not always be possible to make clear distinctions between spiritual and temporal power, nor between those who wield one or the other. To a less extent, this is true of other elements in society. Though Jonas himself speaks in one place of the division of men into those who fight, those who labor, and those who pray,[1] these categories in no way control his thinking on the subject of social classes. Jonas' writings reflect the somewhat amorphous society in which he lived.

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[1] HTSH, 817.

The clergy

In Jonas' writings, the clergy have a clearly defined social role.[2] In the De institutione laicali, which is directed to all the faithful, except for the section pertaining specifically to the duties of husbands and wives, priests are mentioned frequently, both in regard to their specific sacerdotal functions and their relations with the laity.

In the preface addressed to Matfrid, Count of Orléans, Jonas shows a deference before a lay lord which is at least partly a standard social and literary convention. He insists it is only his sense of his pastoral responsibility which enables him to overcome a hesitancy springing from a sense of inadequacy. As a pastor, Jonas sees himself as a pedagogue. He explains that the laity have neither the time nor the training to search the Scriptures and the Fathers, and that this is a work proper to someone in his office.[3]

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[2] Jonas' attitude is that of his immediate predecessor Theodulph, who wrote in his Capitulare ad parochiae suae sacerdotes, Mansi, XIII, 995: "Veraciter nosse debetis, et semper meminisse, quia nos, quibus regendarum animarum cura comissa est, pro his qui nostra negligentia pereunt rationem reddituri sumus: pro his vero, quos verbis et exemplis lucrati fuerimus, praemium aeternae vitae percipiemus. Nobis enim a Domino dictum est: Vos estis sal terrae. Quod si populus fidelis cibus est Dei, ejus cibi condimentum nos sumus. Scitote vestrum gradum nostro gradui secundum, et pene conjunctum esse. . . . Unde oportet vos semper memores esse tantae dignitatis, memores vestrae consecrationis . . . ut nec ab eadem dignitate degeneretis, . . . sed cordis et corporis munditiam conservantes, plebibus exemplum bene vivendi praebentes, his quibus praeestis ducatum ad caelestia regna praebeatis."

Cf. infra, p. 247, n. 7.

He recognizes that priests have basic moral obligations in common with all Christians,[4] and it is unfortunately true that some give scandal by their lives.

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[3] DIL, 124. "Porro laicalis, licet in divinis eloquiis sparsim sit digesta, propter eos tamen quibus aut cordi aut posse non est, latos divinarum Scripturarum campos percurrere, utile dignumque judicatum est, in hoc negotio tuae benevolae petitioni assensum praebere, et sententias, ut dictum est, Veteris, Novique Testamenti, et sanctorum Patrum dicta excerpere, quibus ad petitionem tuam hoc opus congessi, et tuae devotioni dedicavi; imo pro te caeterisque, quibus studii fuerit, id cum charitate suscipere, et pia devotione amplecti."

Cf. Alcuin, De virtutibus et vitiis liber, PL, CI, 617. "Sacerdotis est in pace populum Dei admonere quid debeat agere: populi est in humilitate audire quae monet sacerdos. Quidquid non licet, pastoris est prohibere ne fiat: plebis est audire, ne faciat."

[4] DIL, 161. "Lex itaque Christi non specialiter clericis, sed generaliter cunctis fidelibus observanda, est a Domino attributa. Licet in Evangelio quaedam sint praecepta specialia, quae solummodo contemptoribus mundi et apostolorum sectatoribus conveniant; caetera tamen cunctis fidelibus, unicuique scilicet in ordine quo se Deo deservire devovit, indissimulanter observanda censentur.

Jonas is, if anything, less emphatic than some other writers of his time in emphasizing the moral responsibility of clerics. The penitentials in current use impose a more severe penance on a cleric than on a layman guilty of the same offense. Cf. supra, p. 161, n. 133. Capitularies took the same approach, e.g., Hadrianae Papae capitula, Mansi, XII, 912: "Quod in laicis reprehenditur, id multi magis debet in clericis praedamnari."

> Those who live well, we should not only respect, but also imitate; those who do evil should be respected because they exercise the ministry of Christ, but they are not to be imitated. This is what the Lord teaches in the Gospel.[5]

Though he is writing to a layman, and will frequently insist on the obedience owing to the clergy, Jonas does not hesitate to call attention to several faults which are particularly common among clerics and monks. The first of these is curiosity, which makes men neglect their own work while they are busy with everyone else's.[6] The second is sloth, in which, according to Jonas, many clerics and monks remain without recognizing the vice.[7]

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[5] _DIL_, 211. "Bene itaque agentes non solum venerandi, sed etiam imitandi sunt: male vero agentes venerandi quidem sunt propter ministerium Christi, non tamen imitandi. Unde Dominus ait in Evangelio: 'Omnia ergo quaecunque dixerint vobis servate, et facite: secundum opera vero eorum nolite facere.'"

On evidence of satire aimed at the clergy, and _capitula_ directed against the satire, see J. D. A. Ogilvy, "_Mimi, Scurrae, Histriones_: Entertainers of the Middle Ages," _Speculum_, XXXVIII (1963), 608. Helen Waddell, _The Wandering Scholars_ (7th ed. rev.; London: Constable, 1934), App. E, pp. 267-294, gives a list of conciliar decrees relating to _clerici vagi_ who were the agents of satire as well as the butt of criticism. There are six examples of such reform legislation between 802 and 836 A.D.

[6] _DIL_, 229. ". . . sed dum curiose in his scrutandis dies insumimus, procul dubio delinquimus; quo vitio multi canonicorum et monachorum suum negligentes propositum, laborant."

[7] _DIL_, 246. "Qua peste [otiositas] multi clericorum et laicorum laborant, et se delinquere minime intelligunt."

Whatever he thinks of the shortcomings of clerics, Jonas holds the priesthood in high regard, and emphasizes that a priest is to be esteemed because he is a mediator between God and his people, and for no other reason. He deplores the practice of honoring a priest because he happens to be wealthy or powerful.[8]

> Since priests are mediators between God and the people, for love of whom they perform their ministry, they should be honored with becoming reverence, and without any regard for their wealth or their persons. It is not right that many of them are reverenced not as Christ's ministers, but because of their riches and position. The richer and more powerful they become, so much the more are they honored.[9]

The texts Jonas selects to illustrate the dignity of the priesthood make it unmistakably clear that for him, the clergy are potentially at least the supreme lawgivers and judges of the people.[10] Jonas makes little distinction between the spiritual and temporal effects of excommunication, and as an illustration of the proper relationship between ecclesiastical and civil authority, cites the example of the Emperor Theodosius' obedience to Saint Ambrose.[11] Jonas takes for granted the superior position of an educated clergy in a society which found much of its leadership and almost all its civil service in the Church. The basis of the clergy's claims, however, lies in none of these things, but in the divine institution of the priesthood.[12]

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[8] Agobard, the bishop of Lyons, writes of the degradation of clerics in the system of private chaplains, who were sometimes crude ignorant serfs used to serve tables, mix wines, care for dogs and horses, and collect rents. MGH, Epistolae, III, 203-206; PL, CIV, 127-148.

[9] DIL, 208-209. "Cum igitur sacerdotes, mediatores videlicet inter Dominum et populum, ob amorem et honorem illius cujus ministerium gerunt, congruo honore, remota personarum et divitiarum acceptione, sint venerandi, multi in eis non ministerium Christi, sed quod fas non est, divitias et honores venerantur mundi. Et quanto potentiores et ditiores existunt, tanto majoris honoris et venerationis ab eis habentur."

[10] DIL, 210. "Ex Historia ecclesiastica Eusebii allocutio Constantini ad episcopos: 'Deus vos constituit sacerdotes, et potestatem vobis dedit de nobis quoque

It is the diocesan clergy who are of special concern to Jonas. The parish itself was a relatively young institution at this period; that is, it was only about two hundred fifty years old, and had been created to meet the needs of the Church as it expanded in rural areas. The early period of parish development revealed

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judicandi: et ideo nos a vobis recte judicamur. Vos autem non potestis ab hominibus judicari: propter quod Dei solius inter vos exspectate judicium, ut vestra jurgia quaecunque sunt, ad illud divinum reserventur examen."

[11] DIL, 211.

[12] DIL, 212. Jonas concludes a long passage of Scriptural quotations: "De multis quaedam breviter, de potestate sacerdotibus a Domino collata testimonia collecta sunt sciant ergo laici huic potestati se subjectos esse debere."

Cf. Karl E. Morrison, The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Thought (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 40-41.

the need for priests, because the heart of worship was sacrifice. In the early evolution of the parish, two extremes can be found: deacons "offering sacrifice," and bishops consecrated for rural parishes. Both experiments were halted by synodal action, and the parish under the care of a priest became the prevailing pattern. There are examples of rural churches governed by deacons up to the sixth century. By the end of the sixth century, the evolution of the rural parish was rather complete, but another problem retarded parish development. This was the growing practice of private chapels.[13]

When he talks about the clergy in their specifically sacerdotal role, Jonas gives details of religious practice which are especially valuable because they include almost unique examples from the Carolingian period. Jonas is one of the few bishops who describes the anointing of the sick, and he writes in greater detail than many of his time on one current of thought on the sacrament of penance.

Save for a passing reference to confession, the first priestly function Jonas discusses in De institutione laicali is the administration of confirmation. He has just treated baptism and its corrolaries in the area of morality, and immediately turns to a consideration of confirmation as a sacrament complementing baptism, noting that its administration is reserved to the bishop.[14] He deplores the fact that confirmation, which he calls simply perceptio Sancti Spiritus, is not held in high esteem. He attributes this partly to neglect, and partly to ignorance, and observes that some people receive this sacrament only in old age.[15]

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[13] Imbart de la Tour, Paroisses . . . , pp. 59-61, 72. See also the more recent studies of G. W. O. Addleshaw, The Beginnings of the Parochial System (London: St. Anthony's Press, 1953), and The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (768-814) to Urban II (1088-1099) (London: St. Anthony's Press, 1954).

An entire chapter of the first book of De institutione laicali is given to the matter of public worship. Jonas sees many abuses in the building of private chapels, a practice growing among the wealthy. On the one hand, he wants to encourage this expression of devotion; on the other, he recognizes the danger inherent in a practice which could easily lead to innovations in the Church's worship.[16] Jonas resolves the problem by appealing to a canonical precedent which is clearly against the offering of the Mass in private dwellings.[17]

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[14] DIL, 134. "Cur autem non a presbyteris, sed ab episcopis, apostolorum successoribus, credentium frontes ob percipiendum sancti Spiritus donum sacrosancto chrismate signentur, sanctus papa Innocentius in Decretalibus suis, plenissime scribit: ad quem locum curiose diligenterque scire volentem mitto."

[15] DIL, 133. "Porro ignobiles partim incuria, partim ignorantia, in tantum in hac re negligentes existunt, ut etiam quidam illorum, non nisi jam in decrepita aetate, hujus doni consecrationem percipiant."

It is the priest who decides whether a person may receive Holy Communion.[18] Careless and infrequent reception of this sacrament is a deplorable abuse that must be corrected. While Jonas would like to see all Christians receive Holy Communion frequently,[19] he observes that many people receive the sacrament only three times a year.[20]

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[16] Gerald Ellard, S.J., Master Alcuin, Liturgist --A partner of Our Piety (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1956), pp. 103-126. One of the problems of the time was providing suitable places for divine worship. The isolated archeological remains of the period are not typical, since most building was of wood. Jonas uses the term basilica to refer to buildings which were evidently multipurpose structures; Theodulph issues a decree against using church buildings for warehouses. Theodulph, Capitulare . . . , Mansi, XIII, 997.

[17] DIL, 144. "Et in sacris canonibus, in concilio scilicet Laodicensi sic institutum (Cap. 58): Quod non oporteat in domibus oblationes ab episcopis et presbyteris fieri."

[18] DIL, 203. "Sunt etiam nonnullii, qui tanti sacramenti participatione ob reatum suorum obligationem, sacerdotis judicio, merito privantur."

[19] DIL, 204. "Praeparet ergo se, ut mundo pectore et corpore redemptionis suae munus et frequenter et discrete accipere valeat; ut Christum in praesenti secum habere et ab eo in futuro ad vitam resuscitari mereatur."

[20] DIL, 202. "Sunt item plerique (quod valde periculosum et congrua emendatione dignum est) qui ab

Mass for the dead receives special mention in a chapter in which Jonas is instructing on the Christian attitude toward the faithful departed. A man may have no relatives or friends to care for his needs in his final hour and after his death, "But Mother Church, who bore him, will not neglect him."[21]

If there is one pastoral function which is of special interest to Jonas, judging from the number of times he brings it into his writings, it is the sacrament of penance, or confession to a priest, as Jonas prefers to call it. He sees confession as a second baptism, necessary for those who have committed serious sin.[22] While he recognizes clearly that priests exercise a particular power to forgive sins,[23] in at least

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hoc sacramento partim incuria, partim desidia adeo se subtrahunt, ut vix in anno, nisi sub tribus tantum festis praeclaris ex consuetudine potius quam devotione faciant; nescientes aut scire nolentes, quod sicut corpus sine cibo et potu, ita et anima sine spiritali cibo moritur."

[21] DIL, 264. "Officium namque Christianorum est, ut non solum defunctorum corpora sollicite ac devote sepeliant, quia potius eorum spiritibus, orationibus et eleemosynis opem ferant. Verum licet desint parentes, propinqui et amici, qui specialiter ista gerant pro mortuis, generaliter tamen haec pro illis facere non cessat mater Ecclesia, quae eos spiritaliter genuit."

[22] DIL, 135. "Quod quia baptismus iterari non potest, necessario poenitentia secundus sit baptismus." Cf. Theodulph, Capitulare . . . , Mansi, XIII, 1004.

[23] DIL, 138. "Quia peccati vulnus poenitentiae

one place Jonas seems to discourage the confession of private sins to a priest, stating quite clearly that there are other ways of having these forgiven, and observing that when we have offended God by offending our brother, it is to the brother that we should go to confess the fault and beg forgiveness.[24]

Jonas is the enemy of all empty formalism in religion, and never misses an opportunity to point out the moral dimension of any act. For him, all civil disorders are attributed to pride and its related vices.[25] Therefore, he encourages Matfrid to use confession to grow in the knowledge and practice of

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remedio sanari valeat, ea quae in praecedenti capitulo collecta sunt, testantur; modus vero ejusdem poenitentiae, tempusque poenitendi in arbitrio sacerdotum, quibus ligandi atque solvendi potestas est a Christo collata, est constitutus. Cf. DIL, 151.

On the practice of confession to laymen at this time, see Congar, pp. 301-302, and Amedée Teetaert, La confession aux laiques dans l'église latine depuis le VIII^e jusqu'au XIV^e siècle (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1926), pp. 17-18, 22-31. See also the advice of Jonas' contemporaries: Saint Benedict Aniane, PL, CIII, 1028-1030; Smaragdus, PL, CII, 303; and Walafrid Strabo, PL, CXIV, 680.

[24] DIL, 152. "Moris est Ecclesiae de gravioribus peccatis sacerdotibus, per quos homines Deo reconciliantur, confessionem facere; de quotidianis vero et levibus quibusque, perrari sunt qui invicem confessionem faciant, exceptis monachis, qui id quotidie faciunt. Quod vero de levibus et quotidianis peccatis confessio mutua fieri debeat, sequentia manfestant."

[25] DIL, 238-239. "Aliquando propter donum alicujus virtutis, aliquando propter mundi honores, aliquando vera propter carnis fragilitatem labitur in superbiam, quae totius peccati initium est."

Christian virtue. According to Jonas, sins which must be confessed are lying and pride. In another place he counsels the confession of the eight capital sins.[26] Penitents should not avoid strict confessors, and on their side, priests will be held accountable before God if they shirk their duty to instruct and admonish the sinner, no matter how painful this may be.[27]

While Jonas sees confession primarily as a means of grace for the individual as well as a way of restoring him to communion in the Church and thereby healing the wound inflicted on the entire Christian community, he also sees in the sacerdotal power of binding and loosing a powerful social control, and writes forcefully about the obligation of a laymen to submit humbly to excommunication which it is the Church's right to impose on the sinner.[28]

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[26] DIL, 229. "Quod ergo mendacium omnino cavendum sit, late patet; proinde necesse est ut unusquisque hoc vitium cavere studeat: quisquis huic mancipatur, hoc penitus relinquens, ad poenitentia lamenta recurrat, et de eo inter caetera alia peccata quae admisit, Deo et sacerdoti confessionem facere non negligat." DIL, 241: "Quisquis igitur superbiae vitio inservivit, necesse est ut de eo, sicut et de caeteris vitiis, sacerdoti confessionem faciat, Deumque supplicet ut sibi ignoscere dignetur." DIL, 247: "His plane octo vitiis principalibus multi intelligendo multi non intelligendo substernuntur. . . . Caeterum oportet unumquemque, ut haec, divina ope suffragante, caveat: et si forte his tandem mancipatus fuit, Deo et sacerdoti inde puram humilemque confessionem facere non negligat."

[27] DIL, 140. "Illud etiam minime praetereundum est, quod quidam peccatorum suorum conscii, imperites animarum suarum medicos expetunt, ut sibi ad votum suum poenitentiae tempora imponant; et peritos idcirco declinant, ne austerius poenitentiae eos adducant. . . . Sunt etiam plerique spirituales medici, qui medendi animarum vulnera habent scientiam, sed aut amoris proprii, aut adulationis causa errata, qui sibi eorum confessionem peccatorum suorum faciunt, saluberrimae poenitentiae rigore ferire refugiunt."

When Jonas mentions anointing of the sick as a function proper to priests, he uses Saint Bede as his authority.[29] However, he goes on to explain that not only priests, but also laymen may anoint, and he cites a letter of Pope Innocent to add authority to this view. Whether administered by a priest or layman, however, the oil must have been consecrated by the bishop.[30]

In his treatment of marriage, there is a brief mention of the priest's blessing. Jonas deplores the fact that the celebration of nuptial Mass is falling into disuse.[31]

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[28] DIL, 211. "Quidam laicorum tantae temeritatis existunt, ut monita, et objurgationes, atque excommunicationes sacerdotum nihili ducant; quod quantum a Christiana professione abhorreat, qui animadvertit, intelligit."

[29] DIL, 260.

[30] DIL, 261. "Non solum presbyteris, sed, ut Innocentius papa scripsit, etiam omnibus Christianis uti licitum est in eodem loco, in sua aut suorum necessitate ungendi. Quod tamen oleum non nisi ab episcopis licet confici."

Jonas is not an innovator in teaching that the anointing of the sick was not reserved to priests. For Jonas it is not a question whether the anointing is a sacrament in the sense in which this word is used later in the thirteenth century. Theodulph of Orléans was more explicit than Jonas. Cf. Theodulph, Capitulare . . ., PL, CV, 220-221: "Non solum autem clericis, sed etiam laicis, nec tantum viris, sed et feminis, unctio talis tribuenda, si necesse fuerit."

Married people

Since Jonas wrote the De institutione laicali in response to a request for a manual on the duties of married Christians, it is not surprising that he gives a fuller development of this topic than of others which have a place in the treatise. Jonas was writing as a pastor of souls, not as a theologian, and he was primarily concerned with giving practical advice. However, in following his usual procedure of stating a question, citing authorities from Scripture and the Fathers, and making some attempt at a summary and application, Jonas gives Matfrid a more doctrinal exposition than might have been expected. The work is valuable for what it shows us of a ninth century bishop's understanding of Christian marriage. It is evident that Jonas is laboring to present an ideal of marriage which runs counter to the prevailing standards with which he is thoroughly familiar. At the same time that he is completely realistic about current practices, he is absolutely uncompromising in handing on what he understands as the Church's teaching.

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[31] DIL, 171. "Unde etenim damnanda consuetudo inolevit, ut perraro sponsus et sponsa in missarum celebratione, secundum praemissum ordinem, benedicantur."

Jonas begins his treatment with a carefully worded explanation of the intrinsic goodness of marriage, an explanation which leaves no room for suspecting him of the slightest tendency towards Manicheanism.

> Since God is the highest good, all the things which He has made are very good, as Scripture says: 'And God saw all the things which He had made, and they were exceedingly good' (Gen. i, 31). Many use some of the good things God has made well, and other things badly, not realizing that even good things can in this way be turned into evil. Indeed, the good things God has made are ineffable and without number; among them is marriage, instituted by God at the outset of the creation of man, as the book of Genesis explains, in which we read: 'For this reason a man will leave his father and his mother, and will cleave to his wife; and they will be two in one flesh' (Gen. ii, 24); and again, 'And God made man, to the image of God He made him: male and female He created them, and He blessed them saying: Increase and multiply and fill the whole earth' (Gen. i, 27). And Solomon says, 'By God is a wife prepared for man' (Prov. xix, 14). And in the Gospel: 'Have you not read that He who created them, from the beginning created them male and female? Therefore, what God has joined together, man must not separate' (Matt. xix, 6). And Paul to the Corinthians: 'If you take a wife, you do not sin, and if a virgin marries, she does not sin' (I Cor. vii, 28). And again to the Hebrews: 'Marriage is honourable, and the marriage bond inviolate' (Heb. xii, 4).[32]

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[32] DIL, 167. "Cum Deus summe bonus, cuncta quae fecit, bona sint valde, dicente Scriptura. 'Et vidit Deus cuncta quae fecit, et erant valde bona' (Gen. i, 31): plerique quibusdam bonis a Deo bono creatis, quibus male utuntur, in malum sibi eadem bona convertere noscuntur. Innumerabilia quippe sunt, et ineffabilia ejus bona; inter quae bonum esse conjugium, et in exordio creationis humanae a Deo esse institutum, cum liber demonstrat

Among the authorities he quotes on the Christian view of marriage is Saint Augustine.

> Augustine also in a book of sermons writes thus in praise of marriage: 'Married life is praiseworthy, and has its place in the body of Christ.' And a little later: 'We know that those who lead a married life are members of Christ, that is, if they are faithful.' And again: 'I boldly declare that those who are married, if they are humble, are better than celibates who are proud.'[33]

Certain as Jonas is that marriage is good, he is equally sure that it is ordered to a higher good, and again he finds a reasoned explanation in Saint Augustine. Augustine, Jonas explains, shows that there are three goods sought for themselves: wisdom, health, and friendship. Other goods are sought as a means to

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Geneseos, in quo legitur: 'Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem suum et matrem, et adhaerebit uxori suae; et erunt duo in carne una' (Ibid. ii, 24). Item ibi: 'Et fecit Deus hominem, ad imaginem Dei fecit eum: masculum et feminam creavit eos, et benedixit eis dicens: Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram' (Ibid. i, 27). Et Salomon: 'A Deo,' inquit, praeparatur viro uxor' (Prov. xix, 14). Et in Evangelio: 'Non legistis, quia qui creavit ab initio masculum et feminam creavit eos? Quot ergo Deus conjuxit, homo non separet' (Matth. xix, 6). Et Paulus ad Corinthios: 'Si autem acceperis uxorem, non peccasti: et si nupserit virgo, non peccavit' (I Cor. vii, 28). Item idem ad Hebraeos: 'Honorabiles,' inquit, 'nuptiae, et cubile immaculatum' (Hebr. xiii, 4)."

[33] DIL, 169. "Praefatus quoque Augustinus in libro sermonum ita scribit de laude conjugatorum: 'Est,' inquit, 'conjugalis vita laudabilis, et habet in corpore Christi locum suum.' Et paulo post: 'Novimus membra Christi esse quae conjugalem agunt vitam; si membra Christi sunt, id est, si fideles sunt.' Item idem: 'Audeo,' inquit, 'dicere conjugalem agentes vitam, si tenent humilitatem, superbis castis meliores esse.'

these three. Learning is sought for the sake of wisdom; food, drink, and rest for the sake of health, and marriage for the sake of friendship.[34] That Jonas chose this philosophical passage relating marriage to the love of friendship shows something of his own penetration of the matter.

When he insists that marriage must look to the procreation and education of children, Jonas is fully aware that such a view is distinctively Christian.[35]

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[34] DIL, 167. "Sane videndum est alia bona nobis Deum dare, quae propter seipsa expetenda sunt, sicut sapientia, salus, amicitia; aliaquae propter aliquid sunt necessaria, sicut doctrina, cibus, potus, somnus, conjugium, concubitus. Horum enim quaedam sunt necessaria propter sapientiam, sicut doctrina; quaedam propter salutem, sicut cibus, potus, somnus; quaedam propter amicitiam, sicut nuptiae, vel concubitus. Hinc enim subsistit propagatio generis humani, in quo societas amicalis magnum bonum est. His itaque bonis, quae propter alia necessaria sunt, qui non ad hoc utitur, propter quod instituta sunt, peccat alias venialiter, alias damnabiliter. Quisquis vero eis propter hoc utitur, propter quod data sunt, bene facit. Cui ergo non sunt necessaria, si non eis utitur, melius facit."

[35] DIL, 179. "Audiant hoc fideles conjugati, apud quos in explenda cum uxoribus carnali voluptate, pene quidquid libitum est, licitum putatur: quod non expediat eis secundum ritum gentium quae ignorant Deum, in morbo desiderii vasa sua, id est conjuges suas, sed in sanctificatione et honore possidere, sicut plenissime sanctorum Patrum documenta subnexa declarant."

DIL, 182. "Legitur etiam in historia Anglorum, ita beatum Gregorium ad consulta Augustini scripsi se: 'Oportet itaque legitima carnis copula ut causa sit prolis, non voluptatis; et carnis commistio, procreandorum liberorum sit gratia, non satisfactio vitiorum. Cum vero non amor procreandae sobolis, sed voluptas dominatur in opere commisionis, habent conjuges etiam

Since Jonas holds marriage in such high regard, immediately after the opening chapter in which he has shown its place in the divine economy, he devotes a chapter to the virtue of chastity. Here he insists that a chaste life is the indispensable preparation for a marriage that can be blessed by God in the Church, and again he provides a glimpse of the prevailing practice which fell far short of the Christian ideal.[36]

He is as realistic about the existence of a double standard of sexual morality as he is forthright

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de sua commistione quod defleant.'"

"Quod quia deflendum esse tot tantaque documenta perhibent, caveri prorsus oportet. Quapropter attendant conjugali quod ipse coitus cum uxore, si non amore suscipiendae prolis, sed causa libidinis existit, fletu opus habeat."

[36] DIL, 169. "His et caeteris innumeris documentis manifestantur conjugium, de quo sancta et humilis nascitur virginitatis, bonum esse et honestum, si tamen caste utatur. Et quisquis illud pro eo quod institutum est, appetit, bono bene utitur; quisquis eo male utitur, procul dubio bonum sibi in peccatum convertere probatur. Ac per hoc oportet ut conjugati hujuscemodi admissum intelligant, caveantque ne id quod licitum est, causa libidinis sibi in peccatum convertant."

DIL, 170-171. "Quidam laicorum amore libidinis superati, quidam vero ambiendi honoris terreni nancisci valeant, interim in coeno luxuriae se volutantes, antequam et virginale decus, quod usque ad tempus legitimae uxoris accipiendae conservare debuerant, ammitunt, nec non et benedictione, qua Deus copulae primorum hominum benedixit, et ea quae nunc in et sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae morem nupturis exhibetur, se privant. Unde etenim damnanda consuetudo inolevit, ut perraro sponsus et sponsa in missarum celebratione secundum praemissum ordinem, benedicantur."

in his denunciation. Once more it is Saint Augustine who supplies him with a suitable text.[37] In this context, Jonas shows himself a strong exponent of the Christian view of woman, a view alien to a society which still tended to see her as a commodity. Jonas once more cites Saint Augustine to show that while woman will often be the object of injustice, she can wield a powerful influence if she preserves her own integrity in obedience to God's law.[38] Nor does he neglect to point out the highest ideal of all, reminding that husbands are to love their wives as Christ loves the Church.[39] There is, perhaps, a bit of wry humor in the number of times Jonas warns that woman is also a snare who can be sought for all the wrong reasons.[40]

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[37] DIL, 171. "Qui autem impuri et non casti, castas et puras volunt ducere uxores, audiant quid beatus Augustinus in libro Sermonum dicat: 'Vos qui ducturi estis uxores, servate vos uxoribus vestris. Quales eas vultis invenire, tales vos debent et ipsae invenire. Quis juvenis est qui non castam velit ducere uxorem? Et si accepturus est virginem, quis non intactam desiderat? Intactam quaeris, intactus esto. Puram quaeris, noli esse impurus. Non enim illa potest, et tu non potes. Si fieri non possit, nec illa posset. Quia vero illa potest, doceat te quia fieri potest. Et ut illa possit, Deus regit.'"

[38] DIL, 175-176. "'Christus enim loquitur in cordibus bonarum feminarum; loquitur intus hujusmodi verbis: De injuriis viri tui torqueris: quod tibi enim facit, dole, sed ipsum noli imitari, ut male facias; sed ipse te imitetur in bono. Nam in eo quod male facit, noli eum putare caput tuum, sed me. . . . Absens sit vir, praesens sit vir, non peccat illa, quia nunquam est absens, cui debet ut non peccet.'"

[39] DIL, 178 (Col. iii, 19).

Jonas insists that self-control is a sine qua non of chaste Christian marriage. He rejects as absurd the argument that since sexual intercourse is good, it should be enjoyed by a man and his wife without any restraint. That, remarks Jonas, is as ridiculous as saying a man should eat constantly.[41] He does not insist on restraint because he thinks intercourse is sinful, but because its unbridled use is unreasonable, and hence, for Jonas, less than fully human.[42]

Fidelity in marriage is another distinctively

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[40] DIL, 178. "Qui ergo magis pulchritudinem corporis, et desiderium voluptatis quam decorem mentis in uxoribus diligunt, audiant quid praefatus Ambrosius in memorato primo libro dicat: 'Docetur quisque non magnopere decorem quaerendum conjugis, qui viro plerumque necem gignere solet. Non enim tam pulchritudo mulieris quam virtus ejus et gravitas delectat virum."

[41] DIL, 181 (Augustinus, Liber de bono conjugali). "'Quod enim est cibus ad salutem hominis, hoc est concubitus ad salutem generis: et utrumque non est sine delectatione carnali. Quae tamen modificata, et temperantia refrenante in usum naturalem redacta, libido esse non potest. Quod est autem in sustentando victu illicitus cibus, hoc est in quaerenda prole fornicarius vel adulterinus concubitus. Et quod est in luxuria ventris et gutturis illictus cibus, hoc est in libidine nullam prolem quaerente illictus concubitus.'"

[42] DIL, 174. "His ergo quae supra memorata sunt auditis, diligenterque perspectis, omittant impudici conjugati voluptuosum libitum suum sibi facere legem; et discant ex praemissis auctoritatibus, quod eos non oporteat suis immoderate uti debere uxoribus."

Christian note.[43] Jonas states that many ignore the law of God which forbids a man to divorce his wife save for adultery, and they make, instead, an easier law for themselves. Jonas gives the impression that in this matter there is greater need to defend the woman's rights than those of her husband.

> From these most clear examples it is clear that a man can not and ought not divorce his wife, unless for adultery. As men will not permit themselves to be abandoned or even neglected by their wives when they are in trouble or sick, neither can they, without danger to their own souls divorce or neglect their wives on account of any trouble or misfortune, the only exception being adultery, as we have already explained.[44]

To round out his discussion of the obligations of those who are married, Jonas devotes three chapters to an instruction on the responsibilities of parents towards their children, and of children towards their parents. He takes it for granted that parents will be careful to provide for their children's material needs, but he is greatly concerned lest a child's spiritual good be neglected.[45] He finds it regrettable that some nobles, even the women among them, are driven by worldly ambitions for their children,[46] and he uses a homily of Saint Bede to present an ideal for parents.[47] For their part, children have a clearly defined reciprocal obligation.[48]

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[43] DIL, 189. "Sunt namque nonnulli qui, dum liberae conditionis sortitos se putant esse uxores, si aliqua occasione postea servituti subactae fuerint, illico eas a jure conjugii scindunt: et hoc lege mundi faciunt, non lege Christi."

[44] DIL, 190-191. "Ex evenditissimis indiciis comprobatum est uxores, nisi causa fornicationis interveniente, penitus dimitti nec posse, nec debere. Sicut enim viri nulla adversitate fracti, nulla adversitate corporis corrupti, an uxoribus suis se patiuntur dimitti, aut negligi; ita nihilominus propter quasdam adversitates et calamitates, nisi, ut praemissum est, causa fornicationis, viri uxores suas dimittere, aut negligere sine periculo animae suae non possunt."

Rich and poor

In examining the De institutione laicali for what it can contribute to a knowledge of social history of the times in which it was written, there is good reason to give special attention to what Jonas has to say about the rich and poor in their mutual relations. The poor, especially, were at this time without a voice, and no evidence about them should be overlooked in an effort to understand ninth century society.

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[45] DIL, 192. "Caput XIV; Ut parentes liberos suos diligenter in timore Dei erudiant, docentes eos qualiter caste vivere, Deumque colere et parentibus honorem debeant impendere. Et quale periculum eis immineat qui id facere negligunt."

[46] DIL, 197. Jonas may well have had in mind Judith and her son, Charles.

[47] DIL, 197. "Beda in homiliis de pastoribus: 'Non solum,' inquit, 'pastores episcopi et presbyteri, et diaconi, vel etiam rectores monasteriorum, sed et omnes fideles, qui parvulae suae domus custodiam gerunt, pastores recte vocantur, in quantum eidem suae domui sollicita vigilantia praesunt."

[48] DIL, 195. "Caput XV. Quod filii debitum honorem parentibus impendere debeant."

Jonas had a deep and consistent concern for the poor. In the Vita Sancti Huberti and Historia translationis Sancti Huberti he had shown that care of the poor was one of the touchstones of a pastorate worthy of the name. In the De institutione laicali he attempts to bring those in positions of power face to face with their responsibilities towards those who are at a disadvantage in society because they do not command the means to protect themselves.

It is impossible not to wonder at Jonas' forthright championing of the poor, and especially to ask how he could risk flaunting the opinion of the rich on whom he must have depended for his own security. In a more peaceful time, when social institutions were not constantly threatened by civil war, Jonas might have safely relied on the support of a like-minded group of men. This was not the situation at the time he presented his treatise to Matfrid, Count of Orléans.

If in Jonas there can be detected a streak of the social reformer, it is not because he advocated any changes in institutions. Rather, he appeals to the conscience of the powerful and the wealthy, convinced that amelioration of injustice is possible only through the conversion of unjust men. For Jonas, poverty is not an economic problem, but a moral one.[49]

Two qualifications are necessary in considering Jonas' writings on the powerful, the rich, and the poor. The first is that Jonas is not interested in an abstract, theoretic consideration of power, wealth, or poverty; he is concerned about people. Second, in what he thinks and says on the subject, he is bound by the conventions of his age, and so he does not think or write of the rich or poor as social classes. He ordinarily refers to the poor as pauperes,[50] and in context, the word does not permit of any identification with serfs.[51]

The abstract terminology is even less exact when Jonas speaks to, or about, the men who have political power or wealth. In the period in which he is writing, the two are rarely separated. Jonas calls these men dives,[52] nobiles,[53] potentes,[54] or laici.[55] Though for Jonas the distinction between priest and layman is essentially a sacramental one, nevertheless, in the De institutione laicali the term laici has marked political overtones. It is significant that Jonas' use of the term laici points to the tension between clerics and laymen over issues which were political and economic, rather than religious.

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[49] Cf. treatment of avarice in relation to poverty and usury, infra, pp. 239, 258-265.

[50] DIL, 163, 199, 208, 213, 215, 219, 234, 255, 262, 263, 272.

[51] Pauperes had an official status in at least one context. Cf. MGH, Capitularia, I, 298: "Capitulare de Disciplina Palatii Aquisgranensis [c. 820?]: Ut super mendicos et pauperes magistri constituantur qui de eis magnam curam et providentiam habeant, ut . . . simulatores inter eos se celare non possint"; and ibid., p. 312.

Jonas sees the laity as a collective political force, real or potential, threatening or withstanding the rule of justice and peace which operates through the Church in the person of the bishops.[56] This becomes clear when Jonas' use of the term laici is compared with fideles, which he uses regularly when he is speaking of strictly religious matters or moral issues which are not directly bound up with a situation in which the authority of the clergy is questioned.[57]

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[52] DIL, 163, 164, 165, 213, 215, 240, 259, 262, 263.

[53] DIL, 133, 197.

[54] DIL, 197, 204, 215, 259.

[55] DIL, 124, 161, 166, 170, 204, 205, 209, 211,

[56] The Pope does not figure in Jonas' argument. Jonas stresses not only the individual bishop's authority, but also the authority of the bishops acting collectively. Cf. supra, p. 69.

[57] DIL, 127, 128, 149, 151, 160, 161, 166, 204,

Jonas sees that the rich live in a state of conflict between the teaching of the gospel on the essential equality of all men, and the tendency to exploit the advantages of their social position. Book Two, Chapter Twenty-two, is entitled, *De his qui propter honores terrenos et caducos adeo extolluntur, ut pauperes, natura sibi similes, non recognoscant*. In it, Jonas warns:

> Let those who are in positions of authority be on their guard, lest they think of those who are below them in rank as also their inferiors by nature. For it is an arrangement of providence that one man is inferior to another not by nature, but only by some worldly dignity.[58]

217, 230, *et passim*.

See Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz y Menduina, *En torno a los origines del feudalismo* (3 vols.; Mendoza: Universite Nationale de Cuyo, 1942), I, 41-42. The authors shows that the term *fidelis* is employed with three basic meanings in legal and canonical texts and in narrative sources at this period: (1) as a member of the Catholic Church; (2) a person held bound by an oath of loyalty in the general sense, including loyal subjects of the king; and (3) a subject bound by a special voluntary allegiance beyond any general pledge to the king.

[58] *DIL*, 213. "Cavendum his qui praesunt, ne sibi subjectos, sicut ordine, ita natura inferiores se esse putent: provide namque dispensatione divina actum est, ut mortalis a mortali, non natura, sed quadam mundana dignitate inferior."

The "feudal sense that the enjoyment of wealth is inseparable from public responsibility chiefly distinguishes medieval ideas of ownership from both classical and modern," is the view of Lynn White, Jr., *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), p. 31. Jonas' writings exemplify the effort to inculcate the sense of social responsibility, together with evidence that such a sense was not an inevitable counterpart of wealth in the early middle ages.

Forgetfulness of this truth shows itself in the way some persons educate their children. They are careless about training them to virtue, but inordinately ambitious for their temporal advancement.[59]

The rich are blamed for despising poor priests, though Jonas notes that those who refuse to welcome poor priests to their own tables want them as intercessors with God, nonetheless. He concludes that "this is dangerous, reprehensible, dishonest, and inconsistent with Christianity--beyond the power of words to express it."[60] What is still worse in his eyes is that the powerful find ways to force priests to work as laymen.[61]

The rich are also lazy, and spend too much time in hunting. There is a touch of sarcasm in Jonas' criticism of those who let the pleasures of chasing the hounds blind them to their responsibilities to the poor under their jurisdiction.[62]

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[59] DIL, 197. "Existunt in utroque sexu, qui in sibi subjectis plus animarum lucrum, quam commodum terrenum quaerunt: sunt etiam e contrario nonnulli potentes, et quaedam nobiles matronae, qui ab eis quaestum tantum avare exigunt, et salvationem animarum illorum aut dissimulant, aut certe penitus parvipendunt."

[60] DIL, 209. "Hoc quam sit periculosum, ac reprehensibile, et religioni Christianae incongruum, et inhonestum, verbis explicari fas non est."

[61] DIL, 209. "Sunt etiam quidam sacerdotes divitiis et honoribus mundi carentes, qui adeo contemptui a quibusdam laicis habentur, ut eos non solum administratores et procuratores rerum suarum faciant; sed etiam sibi more laicorum servire compellant."

When Jonas says that the laity are unlettered and depend on clerics for translating the teaching of Scripture and the Fathers into terms they can understand, he is simply stating a fact, not making a criticism. However, he does blame them for being much quicker to build churches than they are ready to pray in them.[63] They do not receive the sacraments as often as they should, and they are given to superstitious practices.[64] Still another common fault is inordinate swearing, a fault which has its social consequences because it lessens the respect men should have for oaths.[65]

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[62] DIL, 215. "Cum causam pauperum Christi, quidam fastu potentiae tumefacti, quidam diuturna requie delectati, quidam etiam corporales delicias, in quibus nimium metas discretionis excedentes resolvuntur, amplexati, non magnopere ducere soleant, existunt nihilominus quamplures qui ob amorem canum et diversissimas venationes, quibus miserabiliter insistunt, et se et pauperum curas quodammodo negligunt."

[63] DIL, 204. "Super qua hujuscemodi cupiditate ducti solent dicere: Ille presbyter multa de mea acquirit ecclesia, quapropter volo, ut de eo quod de meo acquirit, ad votum meum mihi serviat, sin alias, meam ultra non habebit ecclesiam."

[64] DIL, 260. "Sunt item plerique qui dum infirmantur aut ipsi aut eorum parentes et propinqui, non sibi presbyteros Ecclesiae induci, seque sanctificato oleo secundum traditionem apostolicam, et sanctae Ecclesiae morem perungi; sed magis divinos et divitrices, imo in illis diabolum consulere expetunt."

[65] DIL, 221. "Cum in multis omnes, apostolo Jacobo teste, offendamus, apud utrumque ordinem, clericalem videlicet et laicalem, imo apud utrumque sexum, in incauta juratione valde et miserabiliter delinquitur."

Some of the laity refuse to accept the moral teaching of the Church. When a law is difficult, they ignore it and make their own law.[66] This is especially true in the area of sexual morality.[67]

Tenacity, and the "desire to get what belongs to another, rather than to give generously of one's own," are other unlovely qualities of the powerful rich.[68] They show themselves in the mercenary attitude towards the practice of hospitality, when people are refused bed and board till the rates are clearly understood.[69]

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[66] DIL, 166. "Et hoc idcirco accidisse reor, quia irrepsit inter quosdam laicos nimium deploranda consuetudo: qui utique legibus divinis, quibus se per fidem subdiderunt, non ut oportet animadversis, non solum quod libet et licitum non est, sed et id quod licet, non tamen expedit, legem sibi faciunt; et secundum id quod tamen libitum fuerit, vivere se posse inculpabiliter credunt."

[67] Cf. MGH, Capitularia, I, 313.

[68] DIL, 255. "Vitium ergo tenacitatis quam sit pestiferum et detestabile patenter innuitur, quod valde omnibus convenit fidelibus cavere, ne, quod absit, illud sectantes aut cum divite sua tenaciter recondere cogitante, stultitiae elogio denotari, aut cum altero divite, qui aliena non rapuit, sed sua erogare neglexit, damnari contingat. Tribuant ergo pauperi, si nolunt flammis exuri; dent in terra Christo, quod eis reddat in coelo."

[69] DIL, 231. "Sed neque advenientes hospitio carentes, in domos suas aliter recipiunt, nisi prius pari conventione statuatur, quid pro solo, quid pro singulis vasis, quid pro igne accenso, et caeteris innumeris rebus, quibus usi fuerint, dare debeant."

There was a considerable amount of coin in circulation in this period. See Karl Morrison, The rich also show their determination to take with one hand what they give with the other in the form of tithes. In discussing this matter, Jonas recognizes that the freedom clerics need to perform their ministry is threatened by laymen in positions of power, who seek to control the revenues of the Church. In Book Two, Chapter Nineteen, De decimis fidelium, he gives an enlightening description of ecclesiastical finance. Some laymen have clever ways of seeing that the gifts they give to the Church are used for the donor's own purposes, and this is especially the case of those who have built churches on their own land. Jonas insists that laymen must not interfere with the distribution of offerings made by the faithful.[70]

In the De institutione laicali there is more for the upper strata of society than a weary catalogue

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"Numismatics and Carolingian Trade: A Critique of the Evidence," Speculum, XXXVIII (1963), 403-432. Morrison's study shows that Orléans was within the region in which the internal commercial structure was most vigorous.

[70] DIL, 204-205. "Non enim ad laicorum, sed ad pontificum ministerium, per quos basilicae Deo dedicantur, pertinet, qualiter oblationes et decimae fidelium Deo oblate dispensentur, ordinare. Pontificum sane ministerium est, quantum ex eisdem fidelium oblationibus in fabricis applicetur ecclesiae, quantum in luminaribus concinnandis, quantum in hospitibus colligendis, et pauperibus recreandis, quantumque in presbyterorum eorumque qui secum militiam Christi gerunt necessitatibus sublevandis expensetur, disponere; non laicorum, ut in suos suorumque ex his quidquam retorqueatur usus, exigere."

of their faults, however. Book Two, Chapter Twenty-four, Juste judicandum et munerum acceptionem vitandam, speaks to the powerful about their role as judges. This is ultimately their most important function, as the bishop is quick to realize.[71]

> There is no doubt that the ability to judge rightly has been given to men by God, as the apostle James witnesses, when he says, 'Every good and perfect gift comes from the Father of lights' (Jac. i, 17). That man who is deflected from the path of justice which gives to each man his due, whether he is drawn away by unreasonable desire, hatred, or love, is convicted of dishonoring Christ, Who is Justice. As it is just that he who knows what is right should do it, so it is wicked for a man to know what is right and not do it. Through justice the realm is made secure, and through injustice it is ruined. Example shows how many realms have been overthrown because of injustice.[72]

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[71] Again Jonas exemplifies a major concern of high-minded ecclesiastics of the era of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. Cf. Hadriani Papae capitula, Mansi, XII, 904 (anno 785): "Judici omnia patienter audienda quae proponentur, priusquam sententiam ferant." Mansi, XII, 913: "Majus periculum est judicantis, quam ejus qui judicatur; unde unicuique providendum est, ne aliquem injuste judicet, aut puniat."

[72] DIL, 218. "Scientiam porro recte judicandi a Deo mortalibus conferri dubium non est, apostolo Jacobo testante et dicente: 'Omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum desursum est, descendens a Patre luminum (Jac. i, 17). Ac per hoc qui a tramite justitiae, quae sua unicuique tribuit, aut timore, aut cupiditate, aut odio, aut amore reflectitur, Christum utique, qui justitia est, dehonorare convincitur. Sicut enim aequum est ut qui recte sapit, recte agat, ita iniquum est recte sapere et non recte agere. Per justitiam quippe stabilitur regnum, et per injustitiam evertitur: unde et multa regna jam per injustitiam eversa, in exemplum sunt."

The administration of justice has its own temptations, and among them is bribery, an evil which works especially to the disadvantage of the poor. Developing the line of thought which had just equated Christ with justice, Jonas observes:

> What can be more wicked, or more detestable in the sight of God, than to see in court the love of money preférred to the love of Christ? Those who accept money for administering justice, sell Christ, as Judas did.[73]

Accepted without question is the fact that the poor are at the mercy of the powerful and rich, who vent their anger on them, subjecting them to cruel floggings and mutilation. Against this treatment the poor have no redress.[74] Yet poverty can be sublimated, as Jonas reminds his readers, by pointing out that it is, after all, among the highest of the Christian counsels.[75]

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[73] DIL, 219. "Quid, inquam, iniquius, Deoque odibilius potest esse, quando in foro plus sectatur amor nummi, quam Christi? Qui enim pro recte judicando nummos accipiunt, more Judae Christum, qui utique justitia est, accepta pecunia vendunt."

Cf. efforts to protect the poor among the capitularies of the period. MGH, Capitularia, I, 268; 270: "Comites vero non semper pauperes per placita opprimere debent."

[74] DIL, 215. "Si igitur servi Dominis natura aequales sunt, utique quia sunt, non se putent impune domini laturos, dum turbida indignatione, et concitanti animi furore adversus errata servorum inflammati, circa eos aut in saevissimis verberibus caedendo, aut in membrorom amputatione debilitando, nimii existunt, quoniam unum Deum habent in coelis."

[75] DIL, 272. "Quisquis autem ad culmen perfectionis divina ope suffragatus ascendere valet, ut scilicet amore apostolicae vitae omnia sua relinquat, et pauper pauperem Christum sequatur, his procul dubio cum Deo in judicio non judicabitur, sed ut judicet, sedebit."

CHAPTER V

THE MORAL TEACHING IN THE PASTORAL WRITINGS

The primacy of charity

If it can be demonstrated that for Jonas Christianity was primarily a way of behavior, it can also be shown that he did not understand this as merely a matter of following an external code of ethics. This chapter will attempt to show that for Jonas, the essence of the Christian way of life was charity. Charity was for him an idea rich in meaning if impossible of logical analysis.[1]

That Jonas saw charity as the key to Christian morality is consistent with his strong reaction against all kinds of formalism in religion. He denounces the use of religion as a prop to social prestige,[2] and defends himself against the charge of promoting monasticism for base motives.[3] The importance of a good intention which must be present to make a good act is a recurrent idea.

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[1] Cf. the writings on charity by Jonas' contemporaries: Candidus, a monk of Fulda, PL, CVI, 107-108; Claude of Turin, PL, CV, 674; Rhabanus Maurus' homily on charity, PL, CX, 86; Alcuin's chapter on charity in De virtutibus et vitiis liber, PL, CI, 615.

[2] DIL, 204: ". . . quoniam sicut sunt nonnulli qui Deo devote, ita existunt quamplures, qui eas non honoris divini, sed quaestus sui causa, sacerdotibus distribuunt, eosque quibus praesunt, distribuere compellunt; . . ."

It is only because he had this basic insight that he could show such discrimination in selecting passages from Scripture and the Fathers on the practice of virtue and the conquering of vice. Because his end product is hardly more than a compilation of texts, it should not be overlooked that his arrangement shows a grasp which is somewhat in advance of that of an encyclopedist, a type exemplified by Saint Isidore of Seville, whose work Jonas knew.

A good idea of Jonas' understanding of the interiority of Christian morality can be gained by considering his treatment of prayer[4] and sacramental and extra-sacramental confession. It is not always possible to tell the difference between sacramental and extra-sacramental confession in Jonas' writings, because it is more than probable that Jonas himself did not make a clear distinction. Even where he teaches that certain sins must be confessed to a priest, it is not always clear whether this is for the sake of reconciliation with the Church through the priestly absolution which is actually the instrument of God's forgiveness, or whether Jonas is urging his readers to confess their sins for the sake of receiving spiritual direction.[5] Jonas was writing before the development of a highly refined theological vocabulary. What he is concerned about is that men use confession as a means of moral formation. Here he can be seen as a radical reformer, reacting strongly against the practice common in his day. While nowhere in the *De institutione laicali* does he mention directly the penitentials which he helped to condemn at the Council of Paris in 829,[6] this is probably because he was writing for laymen, who could hardly have been in a position to handle such manuals or to correct the features about them which Jonas saw as so objectionable. Nevertheless, this much is clear: Jonas is on the one hand an advocate of public penance for public sins; on the other, he advocates a kind of mutual confession of smaller faults as a means of preserving a sincere charity. Book One, Chapter Sixteen, bears the title, De eo quod majora peccata sacerdoti, quotidiana vero et levia alterutrum [sic] sint manifestanda. Jonas explains at the outset that he is advocating something new here, not in the practice of sacramental confession, but in advocating a monastic devotion which he thinks should be adopted by the pious layman after the example of monks.[7] He musters in support of his view an imposing number of authorities, though it requires an ingenious interpretation to make some of the passages quoted actually contribute to his argument. He concludes:

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[3] DCI, 371. "Habere me catervam monachorum centum quadraginta, qui omnes poenitentiae causa ad me venerint; numerum vero recognosco, subsequentia autem non modo a me dicta abnego, sed dici ab alio perhorresco. . . . Non ergo meam ego ab eis exigo servitutem, quia eos in monasterio retineo, sed ut a me et ab eis noster compleatur ordo, contendo."

[4] DIL, 145. "Religiosae devotioni orationis a multis ut oporteret, et ut exempla sanctorum antiquorum Patrum docent, non insistitur; quorumdam etiam orationis intentio terrenarum rerum curis, et illicitis cogitationibus miserabiliter praepeditur. Quod cum ita sit, quanto in oratione acrius adversitatibus mundi concutimur, et cogitationum carnalium graviores tumultus patimur, tanto ardentius orationi et vehementius insistere debemus. Instantia quippe orationis auxilium nobis tribuit in adversis, quoniam ubi non sufficit humanum, necesse est ut imploretur orationibus divinum auxilium."

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[5] *Supra*, pp. 185-186.

[6] *Infra*, pp. 273-274.

> From these proofs the conclusion can be drawn, that as we offend every day in many things, so every day we ought to confess these things to one another, and erase these offenses with prayers, alms, humility, and contrition.[8]

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[7] DIL, 152. "Moris est Ecclesiae de gravioribus peccatis sacerdotibus, per quos homines Deo reconciliantur, confessionem facere; de quotidianis vero et levibus quibusque, perrari sunt qui invicem confessionem faciant, exceptis monachis, qui id quotidie faciunt. Quod vero de levibus et quotidianis peccatis confessio mutua fieri debeat, sequentia manifestant."

[8] DIL, 154. "His documentis colligi potest, quod sicut quotidie in multis offendimus, ita quotidie de admissis confessionem alterutrum facere, et orationibus, et eleemosynis, et humilitate, et contritione cordis et corporis ea debeamus purgare."

The charge that there is little or nothing specifically Christian about Jonas' moral teaching in his treatise De institutione laicali does not hold up well under a careful scrutiny of the treatise itself. The distinctive note of Christian morality is the primacy of charity. Jonas never tires of speaking about this virtue.[9] It is only by looking at these passages that some assessment can be made of Jonas' teaching on this subject.

With all his concern for a religion which is more than a matter of external observance, it would have been impossible for Jonas to avoid some attempt at a synthesis of his ideas on morality. The question of the first principle of Christian morality forced itself upon him early in his writing of the De institutione laicali, and he did not skirt the issue. He clearly recognized charity as holding the primacy in the moral teaching of the Church. In Book One, Chapter Eight, Quod parvuli instruendi sunt, cum ad intelligibilem aetatem venerint et fidei sacramento, et baptismo mysterio, et septiformis gratiae Spiritus dono, he writes:

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[9] Ninety-nine specific instances occur in DIL alone, while in DIR, charity is the only virtue which is given a separate chapter. In VSH, Jonas draws a portrait of charity in the person of an ideal bishop.

> As blessed Augustine says, the Church is the house of saving discipline, in which it is said a man learns to live well in order that he may live forever. Therefore, it is necessary that anyone in this training school, in which the most excellent doctor and teacher, Christ Himself, does the teaching, submit humbly to the teaching of so great a Teacher. In this school are taught many precepts of the faith, but although they are so many, they all flow from a single fount. . . .
>
> If anyone comes along and claims that he is a slow learner and really quite limited in his capacity, saying, 'I cannot learn, because I don't have a head big enough to take in so many precepts of Christ, which are both admirable and innumerable,' let him hear what blessed Augustine writes in his book on Christian Discipline. 'There are indeed many precepts in the law, in which the good life is contained and taught. . . . A man can hardly number the pages of the precepts, and how can he count the precepts themselves? However, God arranged that no one should be able to excuse himself on the day of judgment, either because he did not have the leisure to read, or because he didn't know how to read, or because he simply couldn't learn to read. . . . Love the Lord Thy God with your whole heart and with all your soul, and with your whole mind (Matt. xxii, 37). And, Love your neighbor as yourself. On these two precepts the entire law and the prophets depend (Ibid., 39). Behold what is learned in the house of discipline: love God, love your neighbor. God as God, and your neighbor as yourself.'[10]

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[10] DIL, 134-135. "Salutaris disciplinae domus est, ut beatus ait Augustinus, Ecclesia Christi, in qua idcirco dicitur bene vivere, ut perveniatur ad semper vivere. Ergo quicunque in schola hujus sunt disciplinae, in qua docet summus doctor, et magister Christus; tanti doctoris magisterio humiliter colla submittantur necesse est. In hac quippe multimodo sanae fidei discuntur praecepta; quae cum multa sint, et ab uno sapientiae profluant. . . .

"Si quis autem forte existit, qui tarditatem et obtunsionem sensus sui ostendat, et dicat: 'Non possum discere, quia nec tantae sum capacitatis, ut tot tantaque Christi praecepta, quae utique mirabilia et innumerabilia sunt, discere valeam: audiat quid praefatus beatus Augustinus in libro de Disciplina

In the third book, where Jonas treats the virtues in catalogue fashion, it is charity which is the topic of the first chapter, and again Jonas shows the scriptural foundation of his understanding of this virtue.

> That man has charity who loves God more than himself, and his neighbor as himself. 'In these two commandments are contained the whole law and the prophets' (Matt. xxii, 40). Indeed, it is proper to a Christian to love his friend in God, and his enemy on account of God. So the psalm says, 'Thy commandment is exceedingly broad' (Ps. cxviii, 96). It is called broad, because friend and enemy are embraced with the same love. Among the Jews it is the custom to love a friend and to pursue an enemy with implacable hatred. For Christians, however, both must be loved equally, as the Lord teaches in the Gospel.[11]

Christianorum scribat: 'Praecepta,' inquit, 'multa sunt in lege, quibus ipsa vita bona continetur, imperatur et discitur. . . . Praeceptorum ipsorum paginas vix quisque numerat, quanto magis ipsa? Voluit tamen Dominus propter eos qui se possent excusare, vel quia eis non vacat legere, vel quia non norunt legere, vel quia non possunt facile intelligere, ut excusationem nemo habeat in die judicii. . . . 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex tota mente tua' (Matth. xxii, 37). Et, 'Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum. In his duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet et prophetae' (*Ibid*., 39). Ecce quod discitur in domo disciplinae: diligere Deum, diligere proximum; Deum tanquam Deum, proximum tanquam te."

[11] *DIL*, 233. "Ille charitatem habet, qui et Deum plus quam se, et proximum tanquam se, diligit: 'In his duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet, et prophetae' (Matth. xxii, 40). Porro Christianorum proprium est et amicum diligere in Deo, et inimicum propter Deum. Unde dicitur in psalmo: 'Latum mandatum tuum nimis' (Psal. cxviii, 96). Ideo latum dicitur mandatum, quia et amicum et inimicum pari dilectione complectitur. Judaeis nempe moris est amicum diligere, et inimicum odiis exsecrabilibus insectari. Christianis vero uterque, Domino praecipiente in Evangelio, aeque diligendus est."

Jonas here quotes passages from the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v, 43ff), from the discourse at the Last Supper (John xiii, 34), and from the Our Father (Matt. vi, 14). Among the Fathers, it is Saint Gregory the Great who is quoted. "As many branches come from a single root, so do many virtues spring from a single charity; nor is there any fruit of good works unless virtue remains rooted in charity."[12] Jonas concludes this chapter on charity by calling attention to the truth that love is identified with God Himself.[13]

In the De institutione regia, Jonas treats charity somewhat differently, showing a more philosophical approach to an understanding of the distinctive Christian virtue. Where earlier he had been satisfied with a description, here he attempts something by way of a definition.

> We recognize a great danger among the ranks of the clergy and of the laity, because charity, which is God, and the honor of Christianity, and in which consists the sum and substance of our

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[12] DIL, 234. "Ut enim multi arboris rami ex una radice prodeunt, sic multae virtutes ex una charitate generantur: nec habet aliquid viriditatis ramus boni operis, si non remaneat in radice charitatis."

[13] DIL, 234. "Cum enim, Apostolo testante, plenitudo legis sit dilectio, sciendum est quia nemo proximum sine Dei, nec Deum sine proximi dilectione diligere valet. Unde quia de charitate, quae Deus est, pauca hic collecta sunt, quisquis ad eum pervenire desiderat, qui charitas est, oportet ut Dei et proximi dilectione veraciter ignitus existat."

> faith (what we are to say now, we say with great sorrow) that charity does not reign among many of both ranks. What the virtue of charity is, both the gospel, and the letters of the apostles, and the writings of the Fathers explain very fully. . . . Indeed, the definition of charity (as our learned men teach) is good will. Therefore, whoever does not have a good will is proved not to have charity.[14]

The corollary Jonas draws from this explanation is that he who lacks charity, which is good will, cannot have peace, since the angel promised peace to men of good will.

Whether seen as the first commandment of God which contains all the other precepts, or as "good will," it is as a motive for good action that Jonas consistently sees Christian charity. While he knows that charity is the end, "charitas quae Deus est," he is interested in it primarily as a means.

Jonas' teaching on charity can be seen under two aspects: first, as a principle and disposition; second, as social responsibility. Under this latter aspect, charity is considered both in its practice and in the breach.

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[14] DIR, pp. 297-298. "Magnum in utroque ordine, clericali videlicet et laicali, periculum esse cognoscimus, quod charitas, quae Deus est ac decus Christianitatis, et in qua summa totius fidei nostrae consistit, in multis utriusque ordinis (quod non sine magna animi dolore dicimus) non regnare convincitur. Quae virtus charitas sit, et evangelica et apostolica lectio, et sanctorum Patrum expositiones plenissime docent . . . definitio quippe charitas est (ut doctores nostri tradunt) bona voluntas. Ergo quicumque bonam voluntatem non habet, charitatem non habere comprobatur."

Cf. Saint Augustine, De civitate Dei, XIV, 7, CSEL, XL, Pt. 2, 12: "Nam cuius propositum est amare Deum et non secundum hominum, sed secundum Deum amare proximum, sicut etiam se ipsum: procul dubio propter hunc amorem dicitur voluntatis bonae, quae usitatius in scripturis sanctis caritas appellatur . . ."

Charity as principle and disposition

The first reference to charity occurs in the preface. Jonas describes his dilemma in approaching his task. On the one hand, he is eager to comply with Matfrid's request for a rule of life; on the other, he is sharply conscious of his inadequacy. By an appeal to charity, the dilemma is solved.

> So, when my mind has wrestled for a long time over this conflict . . . charity, which bears all things, hopes all things, believes all things, . . . finally drove me to attempt this work.[15]

In a passage which follows an exposition of the New Testament parable of the man who was cast from the wedding feast because he did not wear the wedding garment, Jonas mentions charity in a way which suggests that he does not recognize its primacy. However, in another exegetical passage,[16] this time quoted from

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[15] DIL, 123. "Igitur cum in hujuscemodi conflictatione animus meus diutissime alternaretur, . . . charitas, quae omnia suffert, omnia sperat, omnia credit, . . . tandem idem opus me aggredi compulit."

[16] DIL, 127-128. "At si quispiam quae sint hujus novi hominis indumenta scire voluerit, noverit ejus indumenta esse innocentiam, patientiam, benignitatem, mansuetudinem, fidem, humilitatem, charitatem, modestiam . . ."

Saint Augustine, charity is the pearl of great price in the treasure of Holy Scripture.

> Lest anyone say he is not capable of investigating the entire treasure, immediately he gave another parable. 'The kingdom of heaven is like a business man seeking good pearls; who found one precious pearl, and sold all he had, and bought it' (Matt. xiii, 45): so that if you are [too] lazy to investigate the treasure, at least you may not be too lazy to carry a single pearl under your tongue. . .[17]

Besides being a violation of God's law, according to Jonas all sin is also an offense against fraternal charity because it wounds the Church. It is for this reason that he insists that public scandal requires public penance.[18] He quotes at length from a homily of Origen in which the classic metaphor of Saint Paul is used as a kind of peroration.

> Let no one think secretly, 'What business is it of mine if another commits some evil? This is

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[17] DIL, 135. ". . . ne quis se minus idoneum diceret ad perscrutandum thesaurum, continuo dedit aliam similitudinem: 'Simile est regnum coelorum homini negotiatori quaerenti bonas margaritas: qui invenit unam pretiosam margaritam; et vendidit omnia quae habebat, et emit illam' (Matth. xiii, 45): ut si piger eras ad perscrutandum thesaurum, non sis piger unam margaritam sub lingua ferre . . ."

[18] DIL, 139. "Cum igitur tempora poenitentiae idcirco sint constituta, ut satisfaciat poenitens Ecclesiae, quam peccando laesit, nescio utrum ille poenitentiam digne agat, qui Ecclesiam quam primum peccando laesit, postea tam impudenti consortio in sui murmuratione et detractione devenire compellit. Haec non de occultis, sed de manifestis criminibus dicta sunt, quae dum publice admittuntur, publica poenitentiae satisfactione diluantur necesse est." Cf. DIL, 142.

> the head saying to the feet: What has it to do with me if they hurt? It is no concern of mine, so long as the head keeps its health. Or if the eye should say to the hand, 'I don't need your services, why should I care if you are wounded or in pain?' This is the way those act, who are in positions of authority in the Church, and do not realize that we are all one body, we who believe in one God who establishes and maintains us in unity.[19]

A corollary of this truth is that Christians who sin will be punished more severely than non-believers. In one of the more original sections of the treatise, Jonas develops the theme of Christian responsibility as an answer to what was evidently a troublesome local heresy.

> Some Christians are in the habit of saying that those who are reborn in Christ will have a long purgatory, but will not be punished with eternal fire, even though they live in crime and end their days in evil doing. . . . That faith in Christ alone, without good works, brings no one to the eternal kingdom will be demonstrated in the next chapter. That those who live in crime, and repair their evils neither by the tears of penance, nor generous alms, but rather remain stubbornly in their evil ways, that these will suffer more atrocious torments than those to whom baptism in the Church was never granted, but who did good works--this the following evidence will make clear.[20]

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[19] DIL, 157. "Nec putent secrete dicere: Quid hoc me spectat, si alius male agit? Hoc est dicere caput ad pedes: Quid ad me pertinet, si dolent, si male habent pedes mei? non mea interest, dummodo caput in sanitate perduret. Aut si dicat oculus manui, Non indigeo opera tua, quid ad me pertinet si doles, si vulnerata es? Nunquid ego oculus conturbor ex aegritudine tua? Tale ergo est quod agunt hi qui Ecclesiis praesunt, non cogitantes quia unum corpus sumus omnes qui credimus, unum Deum habentes, qui nos in unitate constringit et continet."

[20] DIL, 158. "Dici solet a nonnullis Christianis,

Fear, however, is not proposed as the mainspring of a man's actions. A recognition of the mystery of the Redemption should move a man to unending love of Christ, and this grateful love should be his compelling motive. Jonas explains:

> It is obvious that the same original sin, by which the human race is damnably bound, could not be absolved except through Jesus Christ, the mediator between God and men; not otherwise should man be saved, unless that true man, Jesus Christ, were also true God. It is clear therefore that we are saved through the grace of our Redeemer, Jesus Christ. . . . therefore, let a man make it his whole concern to love such a great Savior and Liberator with his whole heart, whole soul, and all his strength; and let him never grow cool in that love; but let him spend his entire life in his service.[21]

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quod hi qui in Christo renati sunt, quanquam scelerate vivant, et in malis operibus diem claudant extremum, diuturno atque purgatorio, non tamen perpetuo igni sunt puniendi. . . . Quod ergo neminem sola fides Christi sine operibus ad regnum provehat aeternum, in subsequenti demonstrabitur capitulo. Quod autem qui in flagitiis viventes, et haec nec poenitentiae lamentis nec eleemosynarum largitionibus redimentes, sed in eis potius perseverantes diem obeunt, atrociora sint tormenta passuri, quam illi qui, licet lavacro Christi in Ecclesia nequaquam sunt baptizati, bona tamen opera fecerunt: subtus testimonia collecta declarant."

[21] DIL, 125-126. "Patet igitur quia idem originale peccatum, quo genus humanam damnabiliter obstringebatur, non poterat solvi ac dilui, nisi per eumdem mediatorem Dei et hominum hominem Jesum Christum: nec aliter per ipsum liberari oportebat, nisi sicut verus homo, verus esset et Deus. Manifestum est ergo quod per gratiam Redemptoris nostri Jesu Christi simus salvati. . . . tantum ereptorem et liberatorem toto corde, tota anima, tota virtute diligere satagat, et ab amore illius in nullo tepescat; sed omne tempus vitae suae in ejus servitio insumat."

In attempting to show the inner cohesion of doctrinal and moral principles, Jonas turns to Saint Augustine for an explanation of the relationship between faith and charity, and adds his own comment:

> That certainly is a miserable and lamentable faith [faith without good works] which can be likened to the faith of the devil. The apostle, of course, distinguishing between the faith of believers and that of demons, says, 'Faith which works through love' (Gal. v, 6). For it is clear, that unless faith loves what it believes, and adorns itself with good works, it loses the merit of faith. How many there are in the Church today --it makes one sad to avert to it--who receive the faith of Christ, but scorn its works.[22]

In the section of the second book given to a discussion of marriage, it is not surprising to find an attempt to relate the Christian tradition on this sacrament to the teaching on charity. It has already been noted that for Jonas, conjugal love is good, but not an end in itself; rather, it exists for the sake of the love of friendship.[23] The rule of charity should be the primary principle governing conjugal relations;

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[22] DIL, 162. "Miserabilis plane et valde lamentanda fides, quae daemonum fidei comparatur. Apostolus nempe fidem credentium a fide daemonum distinguens, ait: 'Fides quae per dilectionem operatur' (Galat. v, 6). Claret namque quia fides nisi dilexerit quod credit, seque bonis operibus exornaverit, meritum fidei amittit. Quam multi hodie in Ecclesia existunt (quod non sine magno animi moerere prosequi potest), qui fidem Christi perceperunt, et opera habere contemnunt, vitiis inserviunt, et Christianitatis nomen sibi sufficere putant."

[23] Supra, pp. 190-191.

it is charity alone which makes conjugal chastity possible.[24] It is in the context of marriage that Jonas treats patience as a work of charity. Here he shows himself eminently realistic and conscious of the fact that he is writing for laymen.

> Married persons should be instructed to bear patiently those things in each other which they don't like, and they do well in mutually encouraging one another, for it is written: 'Bear one another's burdens, and thus you will fulfil the law of Christ.' Indeed, the law of Christ is love, because it was by love that He used his own goods so lavishly for us, and carried our evils with such equanimity. Therefore we fulfil the law of Christ and His commandments when we use our talents in a considerate manner, and bear our ills patiently.[25]

That Christian love involves an element of folly cannot be ignored, nor does Jonas make any effort to disguise the truth that from a utilitarian viewpoint, the Christian system of ethics is impractical. He is writing for men of some wealth and power, and is uncompromising in handing down the teaching that the Christian must give with no thought of earthly profit, and that he is in no sense absolute owner, but rather the responsible custodian of those goods entrusted to him.[26] Jonas observes that the tight-fisted Christian is a stumbling block to the observant pagan.[27]

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[24] _Supra_, pp. 192-193.

[25] _DIL_, 174. "Admonendi sunt conjuges, ut ea in quibus sibi aliquando displicent, et patienter invicem tolerent, et exhortantes invicem salvent. Scriptum namque est: 'Invicem onera vestra portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi' (Gal. vi, 2). Lex quippe Christi charitas est: quia ex illo nobis et largienter sua bona contulit, et aequanimiter mala nostra portavit. Tunc ergo legem Christi et ejus mandata imitando complemus, quando et nostra bona benigne conferimus, et nostrorum mala pie sustinemus." Saint Gregory, _Liber pastoralis curae_, III, 28.

Is there any rule for the right use of goods? For Jonas, the principle is clear, and depends on the charity which he was later to define as good will.

> There are some who enjoy good things in the right way, and others on the contrary who use good things badly. Whoever uses the gifts of God according to his own desires rather than according to the Will of God, is displeasing to God and uses good things badly.[28]

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[26] DIL, 206-208. "Augustinus in sermone ad populum. . . . Quidquid enim nobis Deus plusquam opus est, dederit, non nobis specialiter dedit, sed per nos aliis erogandum transmisit; si non dederimus, res alienas invasimus."

Jonas is again only echoing a constant tradition. Cf., e.g., the sermon of Saint Caesarius of Arles, quoted in Constable, Monastic Tithes . . ., p. 21: "Before the tribunal of the eternal Judge, a man will appear guilty of as many murders as the number of poor souls who have died of hunger where he lived because he refused to pay tithes, for he reserves for his own use the possessions assigned by Our Lord to the poor."

[27] DIL, 208. "Propter hanc nempe avaritiam quae sacerdotes Domini exinanivit, et ad paupertatem perduxit, exstant hodie nonnullae basilicae ita cariosae, culminibusque egentes, et, quod majus est, paupertate praepediente pene ad solum usque collapsae, ut in his Christo famulari, ejusque corpus et sanguis confici digne nequeat. Quas etiam dum pagani, et increduli conspiciunt, nomen Christianorum blasphemant, dicentes: Ecce qualia templa Christiani Christo Deo suo fabricant . . ."

[28] DIL, 215. "Sunt qui bonis bene, et sunt e contrario qui bonis male utuntur. Quisquis Dei donis non ad Dei voluntatem, sed ad suam cupiditatem utitur, Deo ingratus existens bonis male uti probatur."

In Book Two, Chapter Twenty-six, De falso testimonio, Jonas chooses a passage from Saint Bede to explain that loyalty to Christ demands loyalty to truth and charity.

> John the Baptist, who died not to profess Christ, but for truth, nevertheless therefore did die for Christ; since he underwent martyrdom for truth's sake. Conversely, he who spurns the laws of charity and truth betrays Christ, Who is truth and charity.[29]

The demands of Christian love are nowhere more searching than in the matter of a man's relations with his enemies. Here, Jonas' teaching is clear and emphatic. Book Three, Chapter One, De charitate, opens with this lapidary statement of principle: "That man has charity who loves God more than himself, and his neighbor as himself. . . . Indeed, it is peculiar to Christians to love a friend in God, and an enemy on account of God. And so the psalm says, 'Your commandment is very broad.'"[30] A homily of Saint Gregory the

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[29] DIL, 226. "Nam sicut Joannes Baptista, qui non pro Christi confessione, sed pro defensione veritatis occubuit, ideo tamen pro Christo, quia pro veritate, martyrum suscepit; ita e contrario qui charitatis et veritatis jura spernit, Christum utique, qui est veritas et charitas, prodit."

[30] DIL, 233. "Ille charitatem habet, qui et Deum plus quam se, et proximum tanquam se, diligit: 'In his duobus praeceptis tota lex pendet, et prophetae' (Matth. xxii, 40). Porro Christianorum proprium est et amicum diligere in Deo, et inimicum propter Deum. Unde dicitur in psalmo: 'Latum mandatum tuum nimis' (Psal. cxviii, 96)."

Great furnishes Jonas with a well-worded passage on this theme.

> In men's eyes, it is considered virtue to tolerate adversaries, while in the sight of God, virtue consists in loving them: because God accepts as sacrifice only that sacrifice which burns before his eyes on the altar of good works in the flame of charity.[31]

The lesson is driven home by means of the New Testament account of the Last Judgment. At this moment of truth, reminds Jonas, only the works of mercy which are the fruits of charity will have any value. Christian mercy, notes Jonas, is marked by generosity and cheerfulness; it is the very quintessence of charity.[32]

Book One, Chapter Five, taken largely from a homily of Origen on Leviticus, describes seven ways sins are forgiven.

> The sixth remission of sins is through an abundance of charity, as the Lord himself says, 'Amen, I tell you, her sins are forgiven because she has loved much' (Luke vii, 47). And the apostle says, 'For charity covers a multitude of sins' (I Pet. iv, 8).[33]

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[31] DIL, 238. "Virtus itaque est coram hominibus adversarios tolerare, sed virtus coram Deo diligere: quia hoc solum Deus sacrificium accipit, quod ante ejus oculos in altari boni operis flamma charitate incendit."

[32] DIL, 272. "Quisquis vero ab eorum numero optat secerni quibus dicitur: 'discedite a me, maledicti, in ignem aeternum,' etc. (Matth. xxv, 41), rectae fidei recta opera adjungat necesse est, scilicet ut non sterilis, sed liberalis atque hilaris in omnibus operibus misericordae fiat."

[33] DIL, 131. "Sexta quoque fit remissio peccatorum

The idealized picture of primitive Christianity to which Jonas so frequently alludes has as its chief characteristic a charity of a very high order.

> In the beginning of the infant Church faith flowered in good works . . . and I shall quote Saint Augustine on this point. 'It is the same Christ in us as in them; we also have the same faith, but not the same devotion. Among them, the brotherhood of Christ was greater than that of blood . . . [but among us] fraternal charity grows cold, that charity which formerly glowed with the love of Christ.[34]

This contrast, a preoccupying theme with Jonas, leads him to observe that human laws seem to have more weight than divine laws, and this is an indirect recognition of the nature of love, and its limitations as a formative principle of the social order. "An earthly ruler commands, and subjects jump to attention . . . and who would dare otherwise?" He declares he is stupified at the sight of God's laws spurned.[35]

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per abundantiam charitatis, sicut ipse Dominus dicit: 'Amen dico tibi, remittuntur ei peccata, quoniam dilexit multum' (Luc. vii, 47). Et Apostolus ait: 'Quoniam charitas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum' (I Petr. iv. 8)."

[34] DIL, 163. "Proinde sicut tunc initio nascentis Ecclesiae eadem fides operibus floruit. . . . Ut enim verbis beati Augustini utar, 'Christus in nobis est idem, qui et in illis; eadem fides in nobis, sed non eadem devotio. In illis enim major erat fraternitas Christi, quam sanguinis.' . . . [sed in nobis] refrigescit fraternitatis charitas, quae prius amore Christi fervebat."

[35] DIL, 165. "Cum enim quispiam regiae aut imperialis dignitatis apicem tenens, mortalibus temporaliter imperans, aliquod edictum proponit, quod a sibi

Religion itself can be vitiated by an absence of love. Jonas is insistent that neither religious observance nor almsgiving is of any avail unless motivated by charity.

> How many there are with cold hearts, indeed with not a spark of charity, who bring an offering to God's altar, and never stop giving alms and saying prayers, thinking that these things can please God without charity; especially since there are no goods without charity; but with charity, all things are pleasing to Him.[36]

The social significance of hospitality has been noted in another context.[37] Here it is relevant to point

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subditis et audiri diligenter, et impleri fideliter sagaciterque velit, quis, rogo, subditorum non inhianter id audire, illiusque jussionibus fideliter accelerat obtemperare? Quis in tantam vero audaciam prorumpere audeat? . . . Cum haec quippe dico, stupor et ineffabilis admiratio gignitur in animo meo: homines condunt leges, et a subditis custodiuntur: Deus creator omnium aeternaliter imperans . . . dedit ob salutem animarum capescendam legem, et audire contemnitur; et si aure corporis auditur, aure cordis non percipitur, opere non adimpletur."

[36] DIL, 199. "Sunt quam plures qui frigido corde, nullo scilicet charitatis ardore succenso, Deo et munus ad altare offerunt, et orationes et eleemosynas frequentare non cessant, putantes ista sine charitate Deo placere; praesertim cum nulla bona sine charitate, cum charitate autem ei omnia placeant."

Cf. Theodulph, Capitulare . . . , Mansi, XIII, 1003: "Admonendus est populus, quod haec sit vera caritas, quae Deum diligit plusquam se, et proximum tamquam se, et quae nihil vult alii facere, nisi quod sibi vult fiere, et plura, quae recensere longum est. Nam et quicumque in potu et cibo, et dandis atque accipiendis rebus, caritatem putant, non mediocriter errant, dicente apostolo: 'Regnum Dei non est cibus et potus.' Nam et ipsa quando cum caritate faciunt bona sunt, et inter virtutes computanda."

[37] Supra, p. 203; infra, pp. 267-268.

out that Jonas teaches the importance of the motive that alone makes a Christian virtue of this social institution. "It is important that each of the faithful keep the rule of Christianity in carrying out hospitality--and this for the love of Christ, and not for the gain of a temporal reward."[38]

Practice of charity

When the passages treating of the works of charity are examined, it becomes evident that many of them have to do with domestic matters. Among these, the education of children is one of Jonas' favorite topics. He treats it first in the context of the sacrament of baptism, and his words are directed not to the natural parents of the child, but to those who have undertaken a responsibility for the Christian upbringing of the infant by acting as fidejussores, or sponsors.

> They must always show towards them the devoted concern of true charity; they should admonish and correct them--that they may preserve their chastity and their virginity for their marriage; that they refrain from evil speech and perjury; that no shameful or lascivious songs come from their lips; and they should train them so that they will not be

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[38] DIL, 234. "Oportet ergo ut unusquisque fidelis regulam Christianitatis in sectanda hospitalitate custodiat, eamque Christi amore, non mercedis temporalis retributione sectetur."

> proud or envious, or nurse anger or hatred in their hearts.[39]

The passage continues with a well-developed catalogue of Christian obligations and virtues and practices. The baptized must be taught to shun pagan superstitions and to come to church regularly. There is an enumeration of the corporal works of mercy, as an intrinsic part of the catechesis, and a special mention of the work of promoting peace. Finally, godparents are told that their own eternal reward will be in proportion to their devotion in the Christian training of their spiritual children. In the matter of Christian education, Jonas insists, in not original fashion, that actions speak louder than words.[40]

Hardly has he finished a complete chapter on this subject than he takes it up again, repeating all the arguments. This second time there is an effort to grapple with the problem of individual differences in learning capacity, as well as with the fact that Saint Augustine's advice on Christian education, directed to the instruction of adult catechumens, does not seem perfectly applicable to the situation in which Jonas finds himself.[41] Jonas was more successful in recognizing this problem than in posing a solution to it.

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[39] DIL, 132. "Et ideo necesse est, ut semper illis sollicitudinem verae charitatis impendant, admoneant et castigent, atque corripiant, ut castitatem custodiant, virginitatem usque ad nuptias servent; a maledicto, vel a perjurio linguam refrenent; cantica turpia vel luxuriosa ex ore non proferant; non superbiant, non invideant, iracundiam vel odium in corde non retineant."

[40] Ibid. ". . . auguria non observent, phylacteria vel characteres diabolicos nec sibi, nec suis aliquando suspendant; praecantatores vel ministros diaboli fugiant; fidem catholicam veraciter teneant. . . . Nemo se circumveniat, fratres charissimi, nullus homo sibi moritur; sed sicut frequenter suggessi, quantoscunque quilibet exemplo sanctae vitae aedificaverit, cum tot tantisque, et pro tantis mercedem beatae retributionis accipiet."

Though there is such a marked emphasis on the role of godparents in the Christian education of the child, Jonas does not overlook the obligations of parents towards their offspring. He tells his readers that a rightly ordered love for their children includes a concern for their eternal well-being.

> There are many who love their own children more in the spirit than in the flesh, but there are others who love them more in the flesh than in the spirit. There are some who advise them to learn the law of heaven rather than the law of the world, but there are, on the contrary, those who encourage them to learn the laws of the world in preference to heaven's law. There are some who teach their children to long more for heavenly than for earthly things; and there are on the contrary those who teach them to long more for the things of earth than for those of heaven. Let those who love their sons carnally, and are satisfied to

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[41] DIL, 135. "In primordio namque sanctae Dei Ecclesiae non baptizabantur nisi primum instructi fuissent, et fide sanctae Trinitatis, et mysterio sacrosancti baptismatis. Nunc autem quia nomen Christi ubique pollet, et parvuli de Christianis parentibus nati, ad percipiendam baptismatis gratiam necdum loquentes incunctanter deportantur . . ."

> instruct them in the laws of the world rather than in those of heaven, hear what the Lord says.[42]

Good parents are good shepherds, says Jonas, quoting a homily of Saint Bede.[43] In the same chapter he cites Saint Augustine's advice on the parental duty of continuous vigilance. Especially is the father of a family responsible before God for all his household. Like Job and Tobias in the Old Testament, his authority should be so strong and wise that his household will follow his teaching and good example even in his absence.[44]

Jonas may well have been thinking of Louis and his sons when he wrote that children, for their part, must also prove their love by deeds. He calls attention to a passage from Saint Jerome on this subject, reminding that children must not shirk their responsibilities towards parents who have become too old or weak to care for themselves.[45]

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[42] DIL, 192. "Sunt multi qui liberos suos plus spiritu quam carne, et sunt qui plus carne quam spiritu diligunt. Sunt item alii qui plus eos legem coeli quam mundi, et sunt e contrario qui plus leges mundi quam coeli discere suadent. Sunt etiam qui plus coelestibus qua terrenis, et sunt e contrario qui plus terrenis quam coelestibus eos inhiare docent. Audiant igitur qui carnaliter filios suos diligunt, et legibus mundi potius quam coelestibus eos instruere satagunt, quid Dominus in Deuteronomio dicat."

[43] DIL, 197.

[44] DIL, 199. "Summopere igitur his qui praesunt procurandum est, ut providam sollicitudinem domui suae indesinenter gerant, ne, quod absit, quispiam subjectorum suorum instinctu hostis antiqui decipiatur; et eis dissimulantibus, aut consentientibus, aut non redarguentibus, in peccatum convertatur."

Husbands and wives should also be mindful of their obligations towards each other in times of illness. Jonas explains that "just as it is the custom for upright and modest women to remain at the bedside of a husband wasting alway in a long illness, in order to help him . . . so it is consistent with the Christian profession that men should do likewise for their wives."[46]

Beyond the family circle, the work of Christian charity includes fraternal correction. For Jonas, there is no charity in ignoring another's fault if that fault is evident and the silence an expression of cowardice.[47]

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[45] DIL, 196. "Praecepit, inquit [St. Jerome], Dominus vel imbecillitates, vel aetates, vel penurias parentum considerans, ut filii honorarent, etiam in vitae necessariis ministrandis, parentes suos.

"Restat igitur tunc filios digne honorem impendere debitum parentibus, cum eos suso generatores humiliter veneranterque recognoscere, eisque necessaria procuraverint administrare."

[46] DIL, 191. "Et sicut pudicis et honestis feminis moris est, virorum suorum infirmantium, et longa aegritudine tabescentium lectulis jugiter assidere, eisque famulari . . . ita prorsus decet, et Christianae professioni congruit, ut viri eamdem vicem uxoribus suis rependant."

[47] DIL, 156-157. "Scribit itaque Origines. . . . Cum ergo Evangelii tale mandatum sit, et lex praecipiat, quia si tacuerit, accipiet peccatum ejus: sciendum est quod si quis ea quae videt in delicto proximi sui, vel non indicat secundum regulam superius dictam, vel in testimonium vocatus, non quae vera sunt, dixerit, peccatum quod commisit ille, quem celat, ipse suscipiet; et poena commissi revolvetur ad conscium."

Among the works of justice in charity for the layman is the giving of tithes. For Jonas, this must be more than a matter of economics. On this topic he is more original than on many others, indicating a kind of pragmatic knowledge of such matters that would be expected of a bishop charged with the temporal as well as the spiritual government of a large, prosperous, and strategically important diocese. He tries to make it clear that the layman should see tithing in its religious context, so that he will give what he owes with a sincere, disinterested love. He also makes it clear that it is the bishop who is responsible in a special way for the poor.[48]

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[48] DIL, 204. Tithes could also be a temptation to the clergy. Theodulph, Capitulare . . . , Mansi, XIII, 998, writes: "Nullus presbyter fidelibus sanctae Dei ecclesiae de alterius praesbyteri parochia persuadeat, ut ad suam ecclesiam concurrant, relicta propria ecclesia, et suas decimas sibi dent." That tithes were seen as a burden is illustrated by a letter of Alcuin to Charlemagne, counseling the emperor not to tithe the newly conquered Avars. MGH, Epistolae Aevi Karolini, II, 158: "Scimus quia decimatio substantiae nostrae valde bona est; sed melius est illam amittere quam fidem perdere. Nos vero, in fide catholica nati, nutriti et edocti, vix consentimus substantiam nostram pleniter decimare." See also Constable, Monastic Tithes . . . , pp. 27-33, 44-49, for other examples of the prevailing practice, and an older work which is still valuable, Paul Viard, Histoire de la dime ecclesiastique (Dijon: Imprimerie Jobard, 1909), esp. p. 134, where the author shows that the resistance of the bishops to the acceptance of tithes by the laity is an indirect evidence that the practice was somewhat widespread.

The demands of fraternal charity towards the poor are not satisfied by tithing, however.

> Whoever desires to gain a reward, or to deserve the mercy promised to sinners, let him give tithes, but also let him be eager to give alms of the remaining nine parts. Moreover, with due allowance for simple food and sensible clothing, whatever is left over should not be used for luxuries, but rather laid up in the heavenly treasury by means of gifts to the poor. For whatever God has given us beyond our needs, He has given not for our personal use, but has entrusted to us for distribution to others.[49]

Hospitality as a work of charity is one of Jonas' principal preoccupations, whether on the level of principle, practice, or abuse. In another context he emphasizes the responsibility of bishops in this regard.[50] Addressing himself to laymen of means and social position, he is no less insistent about the practice of hospitality. He writes:

> Although hospitality is treated briefly in the Gospel among the six works of mercy, it is necessary in this chapter to draw together more ample teaching on the subject, on account of those who neglect hospitality. . . . Hospitality among

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[49] DIL, 208. "Qui ergo aut praemium comparare, aut peccatorum desiderat indulgentiam promereri, reddat decimas, etiam de novem partibus, studeat eleemosynam dare; ita tamen ut quidquid, excepto victu mediocri et vestitu rationabili, superfuerit, non luxuriae reservetur, sed in thesauro coelesti per eleemosynam pauperum reponatur. Quidquid enim nobis Deus plusquam opus est, dederit, non nobis specialiter dedit, sed per nos aliis erogandum transmisit; si non dederimus, res alienas invasimus."

[50] Cf. infra, p. 211.

> Christians is the distinctive and most excellent work of mercy.[51]

Visiting the sick is another work of mercy Jonas treats in such a way that he shows once more his sensitive awareness of the Christian hierarchy of values. The faithful can test the sincerity of their love by asking whether they visit the sick regardless of their social position or the personal danger that may be present.

> Since He is no acceptor of persons, who wants to be visited Himself in the persons of the sick, indeed it hardly seems fitting for Christians to fulfill this command according to their own whims and tastes. . . . When a sick man is visited, not only should he be encouraged never to murmur against the scourges of God, but rather to recognize that he is being chastized for his sins, and that he should thank God. Indeed, he should also be given all the help he needs.[52]

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[51] DIL, 231. "Quanquam hospitalitas intra sex opera misericordiae breviter in Evangelio commemorata sit, necessario tamen in hoc capitulo propter quosdam qui eam negligunt, prolixiora testimonia colligenda restant."

Cf. Theodulph, Capitulare . . ., Mansi, XIII, 1000-1001: "Admonendi sunt, ut hospitalitatem diligant, et nulli hospitium praebere detrectent: et si cui forte hospitium praestiterint, nullam ab eo mercedem accipiant; nisi forte illi, qui a te recipitur, sponte sua aliquid det. . . . Sciant sane quicumque hospitalitatem amant, Christum se in hospitibus recipere."

[52] DIL, 259. "Cum ille ergo non sit personarum acceptor, qui in infirmis visitari se voluit, quidam, quod Christianis non convenit, hoc praeceptum personaliter et favorabiliter adimplere videntur. . . . Non solum autem infirmus cum visitatur, ut in flagellis Dei nequaquam murmuret, sed potius propter peccata sua se flagellari recognoscat, Creatorique suo gratias referat,

Finally, charity follows a fellow Christian after death. Jonas instructs laymen of the obligation of burying the dead, and of praying and giving alms for their eternal well-being.[53]

Violations of charity

When Jonas treats of violations of charity, his writing tends to be more graphic than when he is writing about charity in principle or in practice. It is in these passages, too, that he frequently relies less on authorities, and more on his personal observations of the local scene. Several generalizations can be made about these sections of Jonas' work. First, they show him deeply concerned not only about the effect of violations of charity on the individual, but about the injury to that part of the Church under his care, and even to the Church as a whole. Secondly, he realizes that those in positions of power and influence have the major responsibility for the common good. For both these reasons, Jonas frequently draws attention to sins of omission, and to the scandal attached to wrongdoings.

In a typical passage contrasting the virtues

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est admonendus: verum etiam his quibus indiget, adminiculandus."

[53] DIL, 263-264.

of the early Church with the practices of his own day, Jonas sharply criticizes the prevalent easygoing practice in the matter of penance, and describes what he sees as its ill effects.

> In the early days of our religion, when a man, according to established custom, was clothed with sackcloth by the priest in order to make satisfaction, and then sprinkled with ashes, he was seen prostrate on the ground in tears, and was immediately recognized as a penitent, and all the people prayed that God would forgive him. Now, however, in the Christian assembly, scarcely a penitent is recognized, because scarcely any of these former penances is performed. This is understandable, for just as many other practices in the Christian religion have declined, so also the former mode of penance has passed from use, because of its severity. As a consequence, many people boldly commit all kinds of crimes. Indeed, today if any one of ours commits murder, or any other crime, tomorrow he does not hesitate to associate irreverently with the assembly of the faithful, because a public penance is no longer imposed. And thus he is shown to scandalize the Church, while he ought to be making satisfaction to the Church by penance.[54]

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[54] DIL, 138. "Unde colligitur quia religionis nostrae priscis temporibus, dum quis secundum constitutum sibi a sacerdote usque ad satisfactionem cilicio indutus, et cinere conspersus, habitu incultus, humique prostratus, lacrymisque profusus videbatur, statim poenitens agnoscebatur, ut ei a Domino ignosceretur, ab omnibus deprecabatur. Nunc autem in coetu Christiano idcirco vix poenitens agnoscitur, quia pene nihil horum erga poenitentes agitur. Quapropter credibile est, ut sicut alia multa in religione Christiana viluerunt, ita quoque praemissus poenitentiae modus, ab usu, quod formidolosum est, recesserit. Et idcirco a multis diversa flagitia perpetrantur audacter. Verum etiam si quispiam nostri temporis Christianus hodie aut homicidium, aut aliquid aliud admiserit; quia hujuscemodi poenitentia non plectitur, ideo cras conventui fidelium irreverenter se adjungere non veretur. Et ideo Ecclesiam, cui poenitendo satisfacere debuit, scandalizare convincitur."

In several places, Jonas seems to lose sight of his lay readers, because he lays on the clergy a good part of the blame for what he sees as a general decline in Christian morals. He observes, "There are also many spiritual physicians, who have the knowledge for healing the wounds of souls, but either have gone astray through self-love, or for the sake of praise . . . and refuse to impose the rigor of a salutary penance."[55] A little later, Jonas cites Origen on this point. Such a practice does serious harm to the entire community.

> While they spare one [a public sinner], they are contriving the destruction of the entire Church. What is the good of this? What is merciful about such a course? To spare one and to lead all the others into danger? For the people are corrupted by one sinner: just as the entire flock is infected by one sick sheep, so also the entire people is infected by one committing fornication, or any other crime.[56]

A corollary to this teaching is that he who keeps silence about a public evil shares the guilt of the evildoer. Jonas closes Book One, Chapter Eighteen, on this point, with a passage from Saint Gregory's Liber pastoralis curae, followed by his own comment:

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[55] DIL, 140. "Sunt etiam plerique spiritales medici, qui medendi animarum vulnera habent scientiam, sed aut amoris proprii, aut adulationis causa errata, qui sibi eorum confessionem peccatorum suorum faciunt, saluberrimae poenitentiae rigore ferire refugiunt."

[56] DIL, 157. "Et dum parcunt uni, universae Ecclesiae moliuntur interitum. Quae est ista bonitas? Quae ista misericordia est? Uni parcere, et omnes in discrimen adducere? Polluitur enim ex uno peccatore populus: sicut una ove morbida grex universus inficitur, sic etiam uno vel fornicante, vel aliud quodcunque sceleris committente, plebs universa polluitur."

> Gregory says, 'Whoever witnesses the evils of his neighbors and keeps silence, is like one who sees physical wounds and then refuses the use of available medicine. These men are the authors of death, because they refuse to counteract the poison they were able to counteract.' Let all those listen, who, either on account of love, or fear, or temporal gifts, refuse to disclose deadly sins: for unless they expose them for the sake of healthgiving or saving correction, they become like the sinner, and danger threatens both the one who commits the sin, and those who keep silence and refuse to correct the sinner.[57]

As can be expected, a description of violations of hospitality draws from Jonas some of his angriest words. Again, it is the larger social dimension which concerns him.

> . . . it [hospitality] is neglected by many, with the result that in this, as in some other matters, the honor of Christianity is in great part blackened. Why? because in such an important matter, some make light of the fact that while they have well-provided, spacious homes, they are hardly willing to receive a traveler in their midst, indeed, Christ in the traveler, who says in the Gospel, 'I was a stranger and you took me in.' . . . This whole practice is abhorrent to the Christian

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[57] DIL, 158. "Gregorius in libro pastorali: 'Qui enim,' inquit, 'proximorum mala respiciunt, et tamen in silentio linguam premunt, quasi conspectis vulneribus usum medicaminis subrahunt: et eo mortis auctores sunt, quo virus, quod poterant curare, noluerunt.' Audiant hoc illi qui propter amorem, aut timorem, aut muneris acceptionem malorum lethalia peccata detergere refugiant: quod nisi ea correctionis et salutis cause prodiderint, similes peccanti fiant; et uno peccante, caeteris tacentibus, et non corripientibus, periculum immineat."

> religion, and whoever falls into this vice, may retain the name of Christian, but he is not a disciple of Christ in fact.[58]

If anyone had asked Jonas what was the root vice of this lack of charity, he would have answered: avarice. He is haunted by the idea that in the early days of the Church, this vice was practically non-existent.

> In the beginning of the holy Church of God, among the believers such an ardor of faith flourished that they persevered in the teaching of the apostles and in the sharing of the breaking of bread and in prayer, and they had all things in common, and they took food with gladness and in simplicity of heart, praising God together. Now, however, Christian devotion, among many, is a far cry from this; because by some, the love of earthly business is given preference over the apostolic teaching; now, tenacity is preferred to sharing a meal, and the desire to get what one can from another, rather than sharing.[59]

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[58] DIL, 231. ". . . ita a plurimis negligitur, ut et in hoc, sicut et in nonnullis aliis, Christianitatis decus magna ex parte fuscetur; quoniam in tantum a quibusdam parvipenditur, ut cum amplas et spatiosas domos habeant, vix dignentur sub tectum suum recipere peregrinum, imo in peregrino Christum, dicentem in Evang. 'Hospes fui, et collegistis me'. . . . Quod factum a Christiana religione ita abhorret, ut quisquis huic vitio incumbit, licet nomine, non tamen opere discipulus Christi existat."

Cf. Theodulph, Capitulare . . . , Mansi, XIII, 1001: "Nam ille modus hospitalitatis non solum inhumanus, sed etiam crudelis est, quo nunquam hospes in domum ante recipitur, nisi prius dandi hospitii merces compensetur, et quod Dominus agere jussit pro perceptione regni caelestis, pro acquisitione terrenarum rerum agatur."

[59] DIL, 164. "In primordio igitur sanctae Dei Ecclesiae circa credentes ardor fidei ita vigebat, ut perseverarent doctrina apostolorum, et communicatione

A major expression of avarice, and one that had already been combatted effectively in the monastic reform movement of Saint Benedict Aniane, is treated by Jonas in a chapter on tithes. Saint Benedict Aniane enables us to see the problem from the monastic viewpoint; in Jonas we can see the point of view of a bishop. There is, as would be expected, a concurrence in the strong opinion that lay control of ecclesiastical properties springs from no disinterested motive, and can lead to no good end.[60]

In conclusion, we can safely assert that Jonas' ethical teaching, while unsystematic, is impregnated with the moral teaching of the Gospel. Jonas sees charity as the sum and substance of Christian morality. This charity is neither empty sentiment nor strong

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fractionis panis, et orationibus, et haberent omnia communia; et sumerent cibum cum exsultatione, et simplicitate cordis, collaudantes Deum. Nunc autem devotio Christianitatis apud plerosque longe aliter se habet; quoniam a quibusdam doctrinae apostolorum praeponitur amor terrenorum negotiorum; communicationi fractionis panis, tenacitas; frigus charitatis, et cupiditas ambiendae rei alienae; potius quam propriae largiendae."

[60] DIL, 204. "Sunt etiam plerique potentes, qui obliti ordinis et ministerii sui, hujuscemodi basilicas possidentes, rebus tenues fidelium vero largissimis decimis abundantes, contra fas suis aut clericis aut laicis beneficiario munere conferunt, ut de hujuscemodi oblationibus et decimis sibi serviant: quod quam sit extraordinarium, et religioni Christianae incongruum, nec non et facientibus periculosum, qui animadvertit, intelligit."

emotion. It is rather good will, good according to the standard and example of Christ. Therefore it proves its authenticity in following the law of Christ, a law which demands that good will, or charity, be ever sensitive to the actual needs of its neighbor. This sense of social responsibility, Jonas teaches, must show itself in the concern of the rich and powerful for the poor and weak, in the practice of the works of mercy, and in loving one's enemies for Christ's sake.

CHAPTER VI

THE USE OF JONAS' WRITINGS AT THE COUNCIL OF PARIS

Organization and preparation for the council

Had Jonas' writings remained only in their original form, it is safe to conjecture that their influence would have been negligible. Copied occasionally, they might have found their way into a few cathedral and monastic libraries, and gone no further.

Such was not the case. Jonas was not an ivory tower scholar, but an active bishop with a particular talent for administration and for settling disputes. He was held in high esteem by the Emperor and, as will be shown in this chapter, by his fellow bishops as well. It is not surprising, then, to find Jonas taking an active part in the Council of Paris, 829, a council called by Louis the Pious as part of a general reform effort.

Jonas was more than an active participant at the council; he was also notary, and in this capacity he became the major author of the council's three books of Acts.[1] In these Acts he incorporated large blocks of material from his pastoral treatise, De institutione laicali. In this way, he not only won for his writings widespread recognition, but also assured the implementation of some of his strongly held ideas. If there is one feature of the Acts of the Council of Paris which distinguishes them from Jonas' treatises, it is the way the Acts apply principles to specific problems.

The Council of Paris continued proposals made at Aachen in 816, and in a relatio ad imperatorem in 820. Before this, the provincial synod as an ecclesiastical institution had been dormant for some time.[2] In turn, the Council of 829 influenced both the content of capitularies issued at Worms later that same year, and the instructions given to missi after the Council.[3]

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[1] MGH, Concilia Aevi Karolini, p. 649, n. 2: "Hujus libri capita omnia redacta sunt a Jona episcopo Aurelianensi (825-843), qui concilio interfuit munere ut videtur notarii fungens." The work of the notary was outlined in a preface to the Acts: "Et . . . unus notarius inter omnes eligatur, qui quod ipsi invenerint subtiliter describat et sub juramento constrictus fideliter conservet." Ibid., p. 597.

A letter from Louis the Pious announcing the Council also described the function of the notary. "Et quidquid de his causis inventum fuerit, tam sollerti cura custodiatur, ut nullatenus ad aliorum notitiam pervenire permittant ante tempus constitutum. Et ideo unus notarius inter omnes eligatur, qui quod ipsi invenerint describat, & ipse sub juramento ea quae inventa & digesta fuerint diligenter fideliterque conservet." Mansi, XIV, 531.

Hereafter the Acts of the Council will be referred to as CP. References are to the MGH edition.

On the importance of Jonas' role, see Carlo de Clercq, La législation religieuse franque, Tome II, De Louis le Pieux à la fin du IX^{e} siècle (814-900) (Antwerp: Centre de Recherches Historiques, 1958), p. 52, and Scharf, p. 372, who says that as notary, Jonas showed a strong independence, and that he was the "spiritus rector" of the council.

Before turning to a description of the Paris Council, its organization and its work, it will be useful to consider the significance of local councils in the social history of the Frankish kingdom under Louis the Pious. The council documents provide a record of the self-image of the Church as the leading institution of the Franks. The council decrees illustrate how the leaders of Carolingian society came to grips with what they conceived as their most pressing problems.[4]

Besides the council considered here, three other councils were held in 829 in the empire, as part of a reform movement at work in the Frankish

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[2] Lesne, La hierarchie episcopale . . ., p. 84.

[3] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Pt. I, 76-78; Clercq, II, 83.

[4] Lot and Fawtier, III, 7-8, point out that collections of canons are precious documents for a study of religious history. By what they include and what they omit, and by the order and priority of passages, they show the tendencies of churches and regions. Scharf, p. 376, says that at the Council of Paris, 829, the tendencies of the times found their sharpest delineations, and that the council transmits a faithful picture of the tensions on the eve of the first rebellion against Louis.

Church.[5] The reformers, as they reveal themselves in the Paris Acts, were men of intellectual honesty, moral courage, and candor. Nor were they unaware of the risks they ran in flaunting popular opinion. At the conclusion of their work they added a note of caution about the risk involved in exposing the existing evils among the clergy, especially the higher clergy.[6]

The council reveals much more than a picture of the Frankish clergy, however, It also gives valuable evidence of a society at a particularly vital period, when it was fashioning its political institutions through the step by step, trial and error method of reconciling the conflicting claims of the power blocs which composed it. The council reformers were not political theorists, but in their own eyes, moral critics. Yet, as they grappled with the concrete problems of the tenure of ecclesiastical lands, faced the sorry situations brought about by avaricious nobles, and tried to establish principles to guide the activities of clerics in society, they began to see where the crux of the matter lay. On the institutional level, it lay in finding a formula for the relationship of the clerical and lay powers. They remarked as much to the emperor in a concluding memorandum:

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[5] The other three were at Mainz, Toulouse, and Lyons. Their Acts are lost. Two extant manuscripts of the Paris Council are Vaticana Latina 3827 (10th cen.) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 5516. Scharf, pp. 373-374, says that the meeting at Paris had a greater effect than the other three partly because it most clearly reflected the views of Wala, Abbot of Corbie, who, late in 828, at Aachen, had made a vigorous representation against prevalent abuses.

[6] Cf. *infra*, pp. 294-296.

> We have recognized for a long time that there is especially one obstacle which has been growing, namely, that the chief civil power has injected itself into ecclesiastical affairs by intervening on various occasions otherwise than Divine authority would allow; and that priests, partly through negligence, partly through ignorance, and partly through avarice, have been entangled in secular business and worldly cares more than they ought. There is no doubt that in this matter each has acted contrary to the Divine teachings.[7]

It is generally conceded that in his government Louis the Pious was hardly more than the spokesman for the higher clergy who used him as the agent for implementing their own programs. This should be kept in mind when considering the edict of 828, which ordained that all bishops should prescribe a general fast of three days, to be followed by confession.[8] The reason for the fast was to seek God's light on the specific causes of recent calamities. The years since 823 had been a time of trouble, marked by rebellious vassals, advance of Moors in the Spanish March, Bulgar invasions, and increasingly savage attacks of the Northmen.[9] It was assumed that the cause of all these calamities was the sinfulness of emperor, clergy, and people. Louis' plan, according to the edict, was to hold a placitum generale which would first try to pinpoint the most glaring faults of each rank within the empire, and then implement some reform measures.

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[7] CP, p. 679. ". . . specialiter tamen unum obstaculum ex multo tempore jam inolevisse cognovimus, id est quia et principalis potestas diversis occasionibus intervenientibus secus, quam auctoritas divina se habeat, in causas ecclesiasticas prosilierit, et sacerdotes partim neglegentia, partim ignorantia, partim cupiditate in saecularibus negotiis et sollicitudinibus mundi ultra, quam debuerant, se occupaverint; et hac occasione aliter, quam auctoritas doceat, in utraque parte actum extitisse dubium non est."

[8] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Part I, 65. Cf. a similar edict of Charlemagne, requiring a fast for the public good, in Martène and Durand, Veterum scriptorum . . ., VII, 21.

When enemy invasions made the execution of this plan impossible, the Emperor, in the winter of 828, held a placitum cum quibusdam fidelibus. This meeting bore fruit in some capitularies aimed at signal abuses. Legates were sent to see that violators of these capitularies were published. As a further result of the winter meeting, a letter from the emperor announced the decision to hold four meetings in different parts of the empire in the spring of 829. Mainz, Paris, Toulouse, and Lyons were the sites selected. Here the metropolitans were to meet with their suffragans to discuss practical measures to correct the most flagrant abuses. *Missi* were again to be sent to enforce imperial measures which would be based on the bishops' advice, and recalcitrants were to be reported to the emperor. The emperor, in turn, announced that he would hold a weekly court, where the *missi* as well as those accused by them could be brought to trial.[10] As in the previous year, a general fast was prescribed, to begin the Monday after the octave of Pentecost.

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[9] Einhard, Annales Laurissenses, PL, CIV, 494-508. Einhard's annals end the year of the four councils, with an account of Louis' attempt to organize an offensive against the Northmen (col. 508). But even the weather was against the Franks; one summer storm was so severe that it took the roof off the basilica at Aachen.

The letter closed with a word of advice for those of the military class, who were reminded that since the enemy threatened the empire on all sides, they must have their horses and gear in order, and be ready to serve at any threatened point on short notice.[11]

The bishops of the realm received a different edition of the same letter, giving more specific directions about the locations of the councils. The letter to the bishops elaborated the theme that the contemporary evils were a punishment for sin.

> Who fails to realize that God is offended by our wicked actions, and provoked to wrath, when He can see that for so many years, in the kingdom He has entrusted to us, His anger has raged in so many punishments; indeed, in continual famine, death of

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[10] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Pt. I, 57.

[11] *Ibid*.

> our animals, human diseases, sterility in almost all our crops, in the crying poverty of the people of this realm, miserably vexed and afflicted, and finally, in the lack of all necessities? . . . Nor should anyone think it is other than a punishment for our sins, the fact that the enemies of the name of Christ last year made cruel raids on this kingdom, burned our churches, captured Christians and killed the servants of God boldly and with impunity. Indeed, all this is done by the just judgment of God.[12]

The Paris Council was held in the Church of Saint Stephen, and attended by four archbishops and twenty bishops.[13] From this council there issued three books of Acts.

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[12] Mansi, XIII, 530. "Quis enim non sentiat Deum nostris pravissimis actibus esse offendum & ad iracundiam provocatum, cum videat tot annis multifariis flagellis iram illius in regno nobis ab eo commisso desaevire? videlicet in fame continua, in mortalitate animalium, in pestilentia hominum, in sterilitate pene omnium frugum, & ut ita dixerim, diversissimis morborum cladibus, atque ingentibus penuriis populum istius regni miserabiliter vexatum & afflictum, atque omni abundantia rerum quodammodo exinanitum. . . . Nam illud nihilo minus peccatis nostris deputandum est, quod inimici Christi nominis praeterito anno in hoc regnum ingressi, depraedationes, incendia ecclesiarum, & captivationes Christianorum, & interfectiones servorum Dei, audenter & impune, immo crudeliter, fecerunt. Agitur siquidem justo judicio Dei. . ."

Mansi incorporates a note of the sixteenth century Church historian, Severinus Binius (1573-1614), who claimed that Louis was moved to call the four councils by the popular story of a possessed girl whose devil declared that he had been commissioned by Satan to torment the empire for eleven years, as a punishment for the sins of the people. Binius' source is Einhard, Historia translationis BB. Christi Martyrum Marcellini et Petri, PL, CIV, 567. However, Einhard does not mention the important detail of the news reaching the emperor.

[13] CP, pp. 605-606. The names are known from a document regarding the transfer of land. The document was signed during the council. Emile Amann, L'époque

It is believed that Charles, son of the Emperor and Judith, was crowned on the opening day of the Council, June 6, in the church of Saint-Germain-le-Près in Paris. One could suppose the Council was opened after this ceremony, and also in the presence of the Emperor. Canon 85 of the Acts seems to presume this.[14]

The Acts of the Council

Of the three books of Acts, the first and third are clearly the fruit of collaborative effort, while the second has characteristics of a work written by one person. In the first book there are frequent expressions which indicate some kind of voting process was used to arrive at a consensus on certain issues.[15] It is likewise clear that documentary evidence was used in the course of the deliberations.[16] The Council

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carolingienne, Vol. VI of Histoire de l'église, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin (Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1937), p. 216, says there were twenty-five bishops present.

[14] Clercq, II, 70.

[15] Nine instances can be cited from the first book of the Acts. E.g., "Statuimus pari voto parique consensu," CP, p. 612; ". . . in commune nos et socios nostros . . . corrigendos esse judicavimus," p. 619. Cf. similar expressions, pp. 627, 628, 635, 633, 637, 638, and 642. There are no instances in Book Two.

[16] "Non solum rumore, sed etiam evidentibus factis comperimus," CP, p. 628; "Didicimus sane quorundam relatu," CP, p. 632; "Multi namque nostrorum visu, multi etiam quorundam relatu didicimus," CP, p. 643.

of Paris was able to accomplish so much in a short time, apparently about two weeks, because the assembled bishops worked from a well-constructed plan which had been prepared in advance.[17]

It was the reform spirit which predominated at the council. What dissent there may have been among the bishops is not recorded in the proceedings, and minority opinions are ignored. The Acts are permeated with what may be called a "golden age" mentality, that is, a propensity for seeing in the past, especially in the infant Church, an idyllic situation and a model to be imitated. There is continual reference to the good old days, and comparisons with "our modern times"[18] are invariably unfavorable to the latter. Thus, the bishops assert, though without giving any evidence, that in the early days no priest dared abandon his parish,[19] and that in this "modern time" the devotion of the Christian people is a far cry from what it was in apostolic times.[20]

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[17] CP, pp. 597-605. The Council was supposed to open on May 23, and the Acts are dated June 6. In many details they follow the Relatio episcoporum, which was presented to Louis the year previous. Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Pt. I, 58, and MGH, Concilia, p. 680.

[18] On the golden age mentality, see R. R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries from the Carolingian Age to the End of the Renaissance (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 91. The word "modernus" came into popular usage during the first part of the ninth century, though it is found in English and Irish writings a century earlier. The earliest known use of the term is in a work of Cassiodorus, but it did not come into common usage for three more centuries. Franz Blatt, Novum glossarium mediai latinitatis, Vol. Miles-Mozytia (Hafniae: Munksgaard, 1963), and J. H. Baxter and Charles Johnson, Medieval Latin Word List from British and Irish Sources (Oxford, 1934).

Along with this roseate view of the past, is a great reliance on the weight of tradition. Working in an age which was far from producing a systematic theology, the Carolingian bishops buttressed their arguments with a wealth of quotations from Scripture, the Fathers and earlier doctors, and former councils.[21] Besides direct quotations there are frequent general references added as tags.[22]

The fact that Carolingian conciliar acts, like the pastoral treatises related to them, are so heavily larded with appeals to tradition, has led scholars to conclude that these documents reveal next to nothing original. The period is seen as intellectually barren and uncreative.[23] However, since these writings had in view a practical end, the correction of specific, prevalent abuses and deviations from the Christian way of life, certain limited conclusions can be deduced from the very selection of source materials made by Carolingian writers. As reformers, they would not have been inclined to cite long passages which would have been either unintelligible or irrelevant to their readers. Authorities are carefully selected because they seem to relate specifically to the moral problems under consideration. On the other hand, it is true that on occasion the bishops seem to have been unaware of the great differences between their own circumstances and those in which earlier conciliar acts were drafted.[24]

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[19] CP, p. 635. "Priscis temporibus, quando jura canonum suum servabant vigorem, nullus clericorum parroechiam suam, in qua divine militiae divinctus erat, relinquere . . . audebat."

[20] CP, p. 663. "Quis moderno tempore Christiani populi devotio a devotione plebium fidelium, quae sub apostolis extitit, longe sit impar, in praecedentibus jam commemoratum est."

[21] The MGH edition does not indicate the sources, but a very good idea can be gained from Reviron, pp. 61-75. Reviron gives a careful analysis of the sources of the De institutione regia, and this treatise is substantially the same as the second book of the Acts.

[22] E.g., CP, p. 641. ". . . vita beati Augustini et beati Ambrosii et dicta sanctorum Cipriani atque Hieronimi et aliorum plurimorum aperte ostendunt."

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[23] "As a rule the writings [Carolingian] show no originality whatever . . . they are of value merely as an indication of what past books men still read." Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York: Macmillan, 1929), I, 616.

[24] In chapter twenty-eight, the bishops quote from the Council of Chalcedon (451) a reminder that the clergy should not interfere in works that belong to the State; specifically, they should not have schools unless a particular necessity demands it. The Frankish "State" was, however, hardly even a fiction. The effect of Chalcedon on subsequent legislation is discussed in Hefele and Leclercq, II, Pt. II, 775-779.

They were men most at ease with the writings of Saint Gregory the Great when he spoke plainly; the allegorizing Gregory they ignored completely.[25] Sermons attributed to Saint Augustine and homilies of Saint Jerome were other favorite sources.

Another general characteristic of the Acts, which is less obvious, is the use of feudal terminology. There is, in these writings, a subtle interplay between the language of the milieu in which the writings were produced, and the abstract language of eternal doctrinal truths and universally valid moral principles. An intriguing question is just how far the fluctuating socioeconomic institutions, and the language in which they were expressed, influenced men's religious ideas.[26] For example, the military metaphor is commonly used in the Paris Acts, and not merely as an appeal to a Pauline text. It was a metaphor readily understood by men for whom life bore the appearance of a permanent siege.[27] Closely related to the military mentality, and even more basic to the structure of ninth century Frankish society, was the concept of the oath. In what was becoming the style of the times, for example, the Paris Council presents baptism as the spiritual counterpart of the ceremony of homage.[28]

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[25] Saint Gregory's Liber regulae pastoralis provides the accepted standard authority for the bishops at Paris. Jonas occasionally gives a reference to Saint Gregory, but does not quote him when he considers the passage not immediately practical.

[26] Cf. John Henry Cardinal Newman, An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine (New York: Doubleday, 1960), pp. 61-62, and passim, for a masterful description of this process.

[27] Cf. supra, pp. 30, 248.

Council Acts--Book One

The first book of Acts opens with a statement of principles which attempts to orientate all that follows. After stating that faith without good works is of no avail, and that the sum and substance of Christian morality is contained in charity,[29] the act declares four evils which "seem to us especially pernicious."

> And if, according to the teaching of the apostle, faith alone without good works is dead, with what torments will they be punished who not only neglect to adorn faith with good works, but even stain it with various crimes. Indeed, among other evils which stain the faith, it seems to us that four spiritual vices should be especially

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[28] CP, pp. 615-616.

[29] CP, p. 610. ". . . haec fides vera et fructuosa esse non potest, nisi bonis operibus exornetur, id est fide, spe, caritate, humilitate, castitate . . . concordia, justitia . . . et ceteris his similibus, quae omnia in dilectione Dei et proximi consistunt. Sine his enim nemo potest Deo placere nec salvus esse, quia teste apostolo fides sine operibus mortua est in semetipsa."

> considered. These, to the extent that they are more hidden, are that much more pernicious. They are pride, through which the angel was turned devil and thrown out of heaven; envy, through which the same devil threw man out of paradise; hatred and discord which extinguish charity among neighbors, destroy love, pervert all good things, and do not allow neighbors to live in mutual love, nor to lead quiet and tranquil lives, as Christians ought. And indeed, these things are even more dangerous, indeed we shall say deadly, since the persons who commit these vices either do not recognize them, or refuse to acknowledge them, and because they consider them so slight, do not come to confession on account of them, and for that reason, do not merit correction.[30]

This idea, so forcefully expressed in the opening chapter, is not consistently developed in the subsequent acts of the first book. Instead, it becomes clear that it is avarice which the bishops pinpoint as the "root of all evils."[31]

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[30] CP, 610. "Et si juxta documentum apostoli ipsa fides sine operibus bonis mortua est, qua damnatione plectendi sunt illi, qui non solum eandem fidem bonis operibus non exornant, sed etiam diversis flagitiis eam commaculant! Inter cetera quippe mala, quae eandem fidem commaculant, quattuor nobis vitia spiritalia merito exaggeranda videntur, quae, quanto occultiora sunt, tanto pernitiosiora, id est superbia, per quam angelus diabolus effectus de caelo ejectus; invidia, per quam idem diabolus hominem de paradiso ejecit; odium et discordia, quae caritatem inter proximos extingunt et dilectionem evacuant et omnia bona pervertunt et non sinunt proximos in mutua dilectione consistere nec quietam tranquillamque, ut decuerat Christianos, vitam degere. Quae ideo periculosiora, immo mortifera diximus, quoniam sectatores illorum ea aut non intellegunt aut certe intellegere dedignantur et, quia ea parvipendentes pro his ad confessionem non veniunt, idcirco nec correctionem merentur."

[31] CP, p. 632. "Si cupiditas, quae radix est omnium malorum, in membris radicatus est amputanda, multo magis a capite. . ."

Another cardinal concept, governing much that follows in the acts, is that the Church is the Body of Christ.[32] As Christ has a body, so too, in a curious parallel analogy, has the devil, and the Christian must know that by sin he can sever himself from the Body of Christ, and become incorporated in the body of the devil. "Whoever, therefore, knows that through some unlawful action he has changed from a member of Christ to become a member of the devil, let him know that he is no longer in the body of Christ, but in the body of the devil."[33] The social and ecclesial dimension of sin is a conclusion immediately drawn from this concept. "Therefore, when the time of penance is at hand, he should not neglect to restore himself quickly to the body of Christ from which he is separated by diabolical cunning."[34]

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[32] CP, p. 610. "Primum igitur, quod universalis sancta Dei ecclesia unum corpus manifeste esse credatur eiusque caput Christus, apostolicis oraculis adprobamus." Cf. Morrison, p. 38, for an analysis of the effect of this concept on political thought. "It divided the ministrants of the sacraments from those to whom they ministered. In terms of law, it removed the clergy as a separate corporation from civil jurisdiction, and it exalted the spiritual power over the temporal in the context of the Church." Cf. also Henri de Lubac, Corpus Mysticum: d'eucharistie et l'église au moyen âge (Paris, 1949).

[33] CP, p. 610. "Quisquis ergo per aliqua inlicita ex membro Christi se fecit membrum diaboli noverit se non in corpore Christi, sed in corpore esse diaboli."

In a passage which adds a significant nuance to the concept of the Church as the Body of Christ, the Church is seen as existing especially in the king and in the clergy.[35] Since, in the divinely established hierarchy, the sacerdotal order is higher than the royal, it is to matters concerning the clergy that the Acts first turn their attention.

The clergy are especially responsible for the Body of Christ, and they must therefore take into account the danger of scandal in their actions.

> When, indeed, the life of priests does not accord with their doctrine, there is no doubt that scandal is given to the weak, and souls are endangered. Priests should carefully avoid giving offense to those under their charge; and they certainly are offensive when their lives contradict their words.[36]

At the root of all the scandalous conduct of ecclesiastics, high and low, lies the vice of avarice.

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[34] CP, p. 610. "Proinde necesse est, ut corpori Christi, a quo astu diabolico separatus est, se incunctanter, dum tempus paenitentiae in promptu habetur, restituere non neglegat."

[35] CP, p. 610. "Ecclesiae corpus in duabus principaliter dividatur eximiis personis." Cf. Morrison, pp. 84-85.

[36] CP, p. 612. "Quando vero vita sacerdotum cum doctrina non concordat, et auditoribus infirmis scandalum et animarum provenire periculum non est dubium. Proinde summopere cavendum est sacerdotibus, ne offendiculum fiant his, quibus praesunt. Tunc enim offendiculum fiunt illis, quando quod verbis praedicant moribus impugnant."

The Acts of the first book come back continually to this point, as a kind of refrain. It is cited in twelve different Acts. Chapter Thirteen, concerned directly and solely with the subject, is entitled, "That priests should be conscientious about avoiding avarice." It emphasizes the special necessity for priests to give a good example of Christian detachment, following as model Saint Paul, who said, "For me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." The lesson is then applied to a specific situation. "They ought to use the offerings of the faithful not to satisfy their own greed, but for the honor of Christ and the usefulness of the Church."[37]

The neglect of hospitality can be traced to avarice. Closely related is the fundamentally unchristian attitude of ecclesiastics who look upon Church properties as their own personal goods. Citing a pertinent passage from Julianus Pomerius, the bishops conclude Chapter Fifteen: "As the documents cited declare, the goods of the Church are not to be used as private goods, but as belonging to the Lord, and entrusted by God. Whoever, therefore, turns them to his own use, and to worldly honors and pleasures, can clearly see the seriousness of his transgression."[38]

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[37] CP, p. 621. "Quod autem oblationes fidelium non ad suam avaritiam, sed ad Christi honorem ecclesiaeque utilitatem retorquere debeant, subter adnotandum est."

This abuse of using Church properties as private wealth often takes the form of gifts made to relatives. Bishops are to be reminded that it is unlawful to alienate any property of the Church without the permission of the metropolitan. There are, unhappily, some bishops whose avarice gives rise to the criticism that the Church is too rich. If Church properties are used properly for their intended purposes, this charge will not be possible.[39]

Again, avarice is blamed for bishops' neglect of their pastoral duties, since it causes them to be away from their sees too much. Then there are the bishops who think to escape responsibility, or at least censure, by employing rapacious ministers who fleece the people. Bishops must watch carefully that the priests under their jurisdiction are not employed in secular business, and when a priest is discovered busy with affairs that cause him to neglect pastoral work, he should be sternly corrected.[40]

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[38] CP, p. 623. "Sicut igitur praemissa documenta declarant, non sunt res ecclesiae ut propriae, sed ut dominicae et a Deo commendate tractande. Quicumque ergo eas ad suos proprias usus terrenosque honores et delectationes retorquet; quanti sit discriminis quantaeque transgressionis, aperte animadverti potest."

[39] CP, p. 625. ". . . res ecclesiae, si eo modo, quo dispensande sunt, dispensentur, nimiae non sunt."

[40] CP, pp. 631-632.

Act Thirty-one deals with the problem of the traveling bishop. In an agrarian economy with only a rudimentary money system, the bishop, of course, was by custom entitled to hospitality as was any noble of comparable status in Frankish society. Still, the danger of avarice lurked here, according to the bishops at the Paris Council of 829. The bishops are warned not to be a drain on their flocks. While custom allows to the bishop the fourth part of the local Church's income, he should not claim this as his right unless he honestly needs it. Anything above and beyond his requirements should be left for the needs of the local Church and of the poor.[41]

Pluralities, in the minds of the bishops at the council, can be excused by no extenuating circumstances. Avarice is the only explanation.[42]

Still another abuse scored partly at least to avarice, is the practice of celebrating Mass alone. The very prayers, remind the bishops, imply a congregation.

> To whom does the priest say, "The Lord be with you," and from whom does the response come, "And with your spirit?" Or for whom does he pray, to mention only one place, when he says, "Remember, Lord, all those standing around here," if no one

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[41] Constable, Monastic Tithes . . . , pp. 43-53.

[42] CP, p. 642.

> is standing around the place? . . . it seems to us that this practice [of saying Mass alone] should be prohibited.[43]

Avarice leads lords, both clerical and lay, to outright dishonesty and consequent oppression of the poor. The practice of using one set of weights and measures when selling to the poor, and a larger set when buying, is clearly in violation of God's law. Another oppressive practice inspired by avarice is that of price-fixing. The bishops note:

> We learn, not only by rumor, but also by the testimony of venerable men, that in some western provinces, bishops, counts, and other prelates, led by avarice, are accustomed to issue an edict against their poor subjects, so that no one may take it upon himself to sell a measure of grain in harvest time, or a measure of wine at vintage time, by a higher price than that established by their masters. If anyone takes it upon himself to do this, he suffers a great loss to his poverty and besides, is cruelly flogged. So it comes about, that while it is possible for a measure of grain to be sold for twelve denarii, and a measure of wine for twenty, the lords extort for themselves the same measure of grain for four, and the wine for six. This practice is completely dishonest and inhuman, and must be stopped by the authority of our most pious prince. It is to be feared, otherwise, that while the poor are ruined by these and similar abuses, the wrath of the eternal judge will be felt, not only by the perpetrators, but also by those consenting and unwilling to correct them. After the poor have given their lords their just due, they should have the permission to sell

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[43] CP, p. 642. "Quibus dicit: 'Dominus vobiscum'? Et a quo illi respondetur: 'Et cum spiritu tuo'? Vel pro quibus supplicando Domino inter cetera: 'Memento, Domine, et omnium circumadstantium', cum nullus circumstet, dicit? . . . omnibus nobis in commune visum est, ut deinceps huiuscemodi usus inhibeatur . . ."

> whatever remains, according to a suitable arrangement regarding buying and selling, independent of any prohibition of their lords.[44]

Finally, avarice is at the root of usury. Chapter Fifty-three describes three of the modes of this evil practice, which is labeled especially detestable in the eyes of God because it is practiced at the expense of "the poor of Christ." Among both clergy and laity, complain the bishops, there are those so feverish in their desire for money

> that they afflict Christ's poor with an uncounted number of methods of usury, discovered by their own avarice and inventiveness, so that, leaving aside other kinds of oppression by which the poor are cruelly exploited to the dishonor of God, by

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[44] CP, p. 645. "Non solum rumore, sed etiam venerabilium virorum relatu comperimus, quod in quibusdam occidentalibus provinciis suadente avaritia episcopi et comites et ceteri praelati pauperibus sibi subjectis soleant edictum inponere, ut nullus illorum tempore messis modium frumenti nec tempore vindemiae modium vini maiore praetio, nisi quod ab eis constituitur, vendere praesumat. Quod si quispiam illorum facere praesumpserit, et paupertati suae magnam jacturam patitur, insuper etiam acribus verberibus flagellatur. Unde fit, ut, cum aliis modius frumenti duodecim denariis et modius vini viginti denariis venundari possit, huiuscemodi seniores modium frumenti ad quattuor et modium vini ad sex sibi extorqueant denarios. Quae res, quia impietatis injustitiaeque plena est, necesse est ut piissimi principis auctoritate inhibeatur, quoniam verendum est, ne, dum his et his similibus gravaminibus pauperes adteruntur, ira aeterni judicis non solum facientibus, sed etiam consentientibus et corrigere nolentibus accumuletur, quatenus pauperibus libertas tribuatur, ut redditis senioribus suis quae juste reddenda sunt, reliqua, quae sibi supersunt, liceat aliis, prout pactio vendentis et ementis grata fuerit, absque prohibitione seniorum suorum distrahere."

> this particular evil of usury, many perish from famine and need; many also, forced by this oppression, abandon their own families, and seek their homes in foreign lands. Besides, in time of famine, when any poor man, destitute of the necessities of life, comes to a money lender, as brother to brother, since both are redeemed by the same precious Blood of Christ, and seeks from him what he needs . . . , he ordinarily is told, "That grain is not mine to give, but rather to sell. If you want to buy some, it's cash and carry." The poor man answers, "I don't have the money to buy what I need, but I beg you, lest I die from hunger, treat me as you would yourself."[45]

The account continues its vivid description, showing how the money lender lends the grain at interest, because he can take advantage of the poor man's desperation. "So it happens that for one measure of grain, three or even four are violently exacted from the poor in time of plenty."[46] Another form of usury, even more cruel, is that of the money lender who demands the poor man's very land as pledge. The description concludes, "There are many other cunning tricks of certain money lenders, by which the poor are ruined . . . and to enumerate all of them would be a long and weary task."[47] In this chapter, one of the longest in the council's proceedings, Scripture is quoted at great length to support the bishops' stand, and the Act ends with a note of sad regret at this prevalent practice which so undermines Christian charity, and which will ultimately land the usurers themselves in hell.

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[45] CP, pp. 645-646. ". . . ut multiplicibus atque innumeris usurarum generibus sua adinventione et cupiditate reppertis adeo pauperes Christi adfligant, ut, exceptis aliis oppraesionibus, quibus ad injuriam Dei atrociter crutiantur, hoc speciali malo multi eorum fame et egestate confecti pereant, multi etiam hac oppressione conpulsi, propriis derelictis, alienas incolatus gratia terras expetant. Famis praeterea tempore, cum quispiam pauper omnium rerum penuria adtenuatus ad aliquem feneratorem venit, utpote frater ad fratrem, quos constat uno pretioso Christi sanguine redemptos, petens ab eo suas miserabiles necessitates sublevari sibique id, quo indiget, commodari, taliter sibe ab eo solet responderi: 'Non est mihi frumentum aut aliud quid, quod in cibum tibi sumere vis, ad mutuandum, sed magis ad vendendum. Si vis emere, fer pretium et tolle.' Cui pauper: 'Non est mihi', inquid, 'Quicquam praetii, quo emere id, quo indigeo, valeam. Sed peto abs te, ut miserearis mei et quomodocumque vis, mihi quod peto, ne fame peream, mutuum porrige.'"

There is in the first book of Acts a positive motif which balances the negative one of avarice. However, it is not so neatly labeled as the root vice. This positive principle can be described as a sense of social responsibility. Bishops are reminded that they are shepherds of Christ's flock, not their own. "By what rashness, indeed, by what presumptuous vanity does any bishop presume to say, 'That is my congregation,' or 'my priest or cleric?' . . . The Lord in the gospel say, 'If you love me, feed my sheep.' 'Mine,' he says, not 'yours.'[48]

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[46] _CP_, p. 646. "Unde evenire solet, ut pro uno frumenti modio taliter mutuato tres aut certe quattuor modii a pauperibus tempore messis violenter exigantur."

[47] _Ibid_. "Sunt et aliae multifariae calliditates quorundam feneratorum, quibus pauperes exhauriuntur et paupertati addicuntur, quas hic enumerare magni est tedii magneque prolixitatis."

Only worthy candidates are to be admitted to the priesthood, because the priest, by reason of his office, has more than his own salvation at stake. Saint Gregory the Great's Liber regulae pastoralis is cited as containing the ideal to which priests should aspire, and, in a typical passage the bishops bemoan the shortcomings of the "modern" clergy.[49]

The bishops found it opportune to put on record their idea of their pastoral responsibility. "We declare by equal vote and equal consent that each of us ought to be zealous to inspire, by word and example, the people of his parish to be more attentive to spiritual things, that they might restrain themselves from evil, and turn to God wholeheartedly."[50]

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[48] CP, pp. 628, 627. "Qua ergo temeritate, immo praesumptiosa vanitate quilibet praelatorum dicere praesumit: Illa congregatio mea est aut ille praesbiter vel clericus meus est . . . Dominus in evangelio: Si diligis me, pasce oves meas (Jn. 21, 17). 'Meas' inquit, non 'tuas'."

[49] CP, p. 618. "A cujus doctrina [St. Gregory's] quod valde dolendum et contremescendum est, multi nostrorum, qui pastorum nomine censemur, longe peccatis praepedientibus distare convincimur, unde et nostrum et eorum, quibus prodesse debuimus, magnum periculum imminere cognoscimus."

[50] CP, p. 612. "Statuimus pari voto parique consensu, ut unusquisque nostrum dictis et exemplis

Bishops are to see to it that abbots pay attention to the significance of their title.

> If they are spiritual fathers and beget spiritual sons for the Lord, according to that saying of the Apostle, "According to the Gospel I begot you" (I Cor. 4, 15), they are deservedly called fathers; if, indeed, they act otherwise, they make themselves unworthy of so great a title. For this reason, those words of the apostle should be kept in mind, "giving offense to no man . . . but in all things let us show ourselves ministers of God" (II Cor. 6, 3-4), and let them be satisfied to live religiously and chastely, not having anything to do with hunting, filthy lucre, and other vanities unsuited to their role, lest through bad example they drag their subjects to ruin.[51]

Social responsibility must show itself in the

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plebes parroechiae suae adtentius ad meliora incitare studeat easque, ut se a malis cohibeant et ad Deum ex toto corde convertant, sollicite admoneat."

[51] CP, p. 636. "Decet, immo necesse est, ut abbates canonicorum adtendant, ut quid abbates vocentur. Si patres spiritales sunt et filios spiritales Domino gignunt juxta illud apostoli: Secundum evangelium meum ego vos genui, merito patres appellantur; si vero secus, incesserint, tanto nomine se indignos faciunt. Quapropter oportet, ut memores sint illius apostolici, quo dicitur: Nemini dantes ullam offensionem, ut non vituperetur ministerium nostrum: sed in omnibus exhibeamus nosmetipsos sicut Dei ministros, et religiose, caste et pudice vivere satagant, venationibus turpibusque lucris ceterisque vanitatibus paternitati suae non convenientibus nullatenus inserviant, ne per suum malum exemplum subditos ad ruinam pertrahant . . ." Cf. the Rule of Saint Benedict, chapters 2 and 64.

Jonas looked askance at hunting, even by laymen. Cf. DIL, 215. Hunting was at this period an indispensable means of supplementing the food supply; yet even at this date it had apparently also developed into a sport that worked a hardship on the poor. See Bloch, Feudal Society, I, 72; II, 303.

practice of hospitality. The bishops at the Council of Paris produced a strong chapter on this matter, an apt illustration of the intimate relationship between socioeconomic conditions and moral principles. In an agrarian economy, the authenticity of Christian charity was daily put to a visible and public test by a person's willingness to share a roof and a meal with a fellow human being. This work of charity devolved especially on bishops for two reasons: first, because as shepherds they were obliged to teach by example; and second, because they had ordinarily the means to transform the will to the charitable deed.

On the subject of hospitality, the Paris Council fathers declared that there was need for a general instruction and correction. All Christians will be judged on this, they insist, but in proof of the assertion that bishops are especially bound, Origen, Saint Jerome, and Saint Gregory are cited in support of scriptural proofs.

A sense of social responsibility among the bishops of the Council of Paris was nowhere more manifest than in their treatment of the need for religious instruction. Nine times in the first book of the Council Acts reference is made to this matter.[52]

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[52] Chapters 4, 9, 10, 21, 24, 26, 29, 30, and 32.

Recognition of the instructional problem inherent in the practice of infant baptism is noted, and though a responsibility for the Christian education of children rests upon the parents and godparents of those baptized as infants, it is ultimately the bishop who is responsible for their instruction. Popular unawareness of the significance of baptism is singled out as an especially great danger, and one very foreign to Christianity. The source of this deplorable situation is traced to negligent clergy. Nowhere do the bishops seem to recognize that there are elements of the problem beyond their control.[53]

Chapter Ten is given to a more detailed consideration of the cleric's role as teacher of the faithful. This chapter outlines a plan for a catechesis built around the baptismal theme. The people are to be reminded often that in baptism they have renounced the devil and his works and pomps. The devil's works are pride and all other sins which stem from this vice;

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[53] Already a hundred years earlier, Saint Bede had faced the language problem (PL, XCIV, 659), and fifty years after Jonas' time, King Alfred took practical measures to have certain Christian classics translated into Anglo-Saxon. The bishops at Paris seem completely unaware that any adaptation is needed. For a picture of language variations in Gaul at this time, and the faint beginnings of a vernacular literature, see R. E. Kelley, "The Language of the Franks," Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, XLVII, No. 1 (September, 1964), 101-122.

his pomps are the pomps of the world: ambition, arrogance, vain glory, and all superfluity in temporal goods. The obverse side of this rejection is the pact each Christian has made with God.[54] A sense of honor should inspire the Christian to keep his baptismal engagements. "Indeed, if the obligations of a human contract are firmly respected, much more consistently and earnestly should the obligations of such a great pact made with God be kept inviolate."[55]

One of the causes of neglect of catechetical instruction is the gadabout bishop who neglects preaching in favor of secular business.

> We learn that some members of our own rank, not because of necessity or usefulness, but rather from avarice of self-indulgence, very often spend their time in outlying districts, meanwhile neglecting the seat of their diocese and their clergy; and because of this practice, liturgy, preaching, and the care of their subjects is postponed, and hospitality is neglected.[56]

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[54] CP, p. 617. "Christoque se mancipavit pactumque cum Deo fecit, ne penitus ad ea, quibus abrenuntiavit, rediret."

[55] Ibid. "Verum si jura humane pactionis firmiter conservantur, fixius tamen atque ferventius jura tanti pacti, quae cum Deo facta sunt, inviolabiliter sunt observanda."

[56] CP, p. 627. "Comperimus etiam quosdam socios ordinis nostri non causa necessitatis aut utilitatis, sed potius avaritiae et proprias delectationis saepissime, propria civitates suae sede relicta cleroque neglecto, remociora loca frequentare, de qua re et distitutio divini cultus et praedicatio in plebibus et cura subjectorum postponitur et hospitalitas neglegitur."

Several chapters further on, the bishops again return to the problem of religious instruction.

> There are indeed some prelates who zealously administer both bodily and spiritual food to those subject to them. There are, on the contrary . . . those who administer neither food usefully. Then there are those who administer sufficient food for the body, and yet deprive the people of spiritual food. . . . These prelates will find no excuse before the Lord.[57]

Not only was the education of the ordinary Christian to be a matter of concern to the bishops; the education of the clergy was also a serious responsibility. Besides seeing to it that the priests were prepared for ordinary pastoral work, bishops were to have some priests trained to act as advisors at local councils. At Paris, the bishops deplored the fact that there was not a council at least once a year in each province; they would have preferred two. To the neglect of this canonical regulation, "a miserable and dangerous custom of our time,"[58] they attributed many of the evils of their day. However, if the regular synods so earnestly recommended were to bear fruit, it would be necessary for each bishop to have trained men who would assist in the synodal proceedings.

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[57] CP, p. 628. "Sunt quidam praelatorum, qui utramque annonam, spiritalem videlicet et carnalem, sibi subjectis strenue administrant. Sunt e contrario . . . qui neutrum cibum utiliter eis administrant. Sunt etiam, qui carnalem cibum sufficienter eis administrant et spiritalem aut scienter eis subtrahunt aut, quia nesciunt, non subministrant, pascentes solummodo carnem cito perituram cibumque vermium futurum animarumque salutem in aeternum victurarum neglegentes. Non igitur erunt praelati excusabiles et inmunes a periculis apud Dominum."

[58] CP, p.629. ". . . miserabili ac periculosa temporis nostri consuetudo." There had been, however,

> It seems to us, indeed, especially profitable for the holy Church of God, that, since the canonical rule teaches that in these councils there should be present priests and deacons and all who think they have been wronged, in order that they may have the benefit of an investigation by the synod, that each bishop should have at the council some learned men, men whom he has prepared as soldiers of Christ, for the honor and service of the Church.[59]

The bishops appealed to imperial support in their program for an educated clergy, and cited precedents to support their claim.[60]

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councils in 817 and 822. A council held in Rome in 826 had also influenced the bishops at the 829 meeting.

[59] CP, p. 629. Visum siquidem nobis et valde profuturum sanctae Dei ecclesiae fuit, ut, quia ordo canonicus docet, ut in ipsis conciliis adsint praesbiteri et diaconi et omnes, qui se laesos existimant, et synodi experiantur examen, ut adsint etiam uniuscuiusque episcopi eruditi viri, quos ad Christi militiam eiusque ecclesiae honorem utilitatemque praeparat, quatenus et ceteris ecclesiis noti sint, et studium ac providentia episcopi ad aliorum exemplum manifesta fiant."

A little further (p. 632), there is a repetition of the directive. "Unde omnibus nobis visum est, ut abhinc postposita totius torporis neglegentia ab omnibus diligentior in educandis et erudiendis militibus Christi et vigilantior adhibeatur diligentia, et quando ad provintiale episcoporum concilium ventum fuerit, unusquisque rectorum, sicut jam in praecedentibus memoratum est, scolasticos suos eidem concilio adesse faciat, ut suum sollers studium circa divinum cultum omnibus manifestum fiat."

[60] A Council at Attigny in 822 had recognized a decline in the sacred ministry and a falling off in

One of the specific points in which priests were to be better instructed, according to Chapter Thirty-two of the Acts, was in the administration of the sacrament of penance. The struggle going on in the Frankish Church between those who wanted to see the penitentials in common use retained, and those who favored a return to the penitential discipline of the early Church has already been noted. The bishops at Paris were in favor of abolishing the current handbooks of penance, and the Act which directs each bishop to see that they are thrown into the fire,[61] lest through them "ignorant priests deceive men," can be seen as a conclusive victory in a battle that had been going on for thirteen years.[62] The Act directs that priests

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understanding of Christian doctrine and practice, and had recommended measures to provide for the education of the clergy. Specifically, it asked for the establishment of schools. CP, p. 471. In 825, a capitulary had directed: "Scolae sane ad filios et ministros ecclesiae instruendos vel edocendos, sicut nobis praeterito tempore ad Attiniacum promistis et vobis iniunximus, in congruis locis, ubi necdum perfectum est, ad multorum utilitatem et profectum a vobis ordinari non neglegantur." MGH, Capitularia regum francorum, p. 304. Evidently not much had been done in the next four years, at least in the region represented by the bishops at Paris.

[61] CP, p. 633. "Unusquisque episcoporum in sua parroechia eosdem erroneos codicellos diligenter perquirat et inventos igni tradat, ne per eos ulterius sacerdotes imperiti homines decipiant."

[62] There was current an attempt to restore the penitential discipline of the early Church, imposing

be instructed how to hear confessions and to impose the proper kind of penance, "since up to the present the crimes of many people have gone unpunished, because of the neglect and ignorance of priests, and there can be no doubt that this has contributed to the ruin of souls."[63]

Other matters treated in the first book of the Acts are problems related to women religious, and relations between clergy and laity. The Acts pertaining to religious women reaffirm the usual canonical regulations on enclosure. One chapter, however, is of special interest because it forbids what the bishops consider a most heinous abuse, the distribution of Holy Communion by women.[64] There is no indication in the Act itself

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public penance for public sins. Amann, L'église carolingienne, p. 214. Cf. also J. McNeill and Helen Gamer, Medieval Handbooks of Penance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), pp. 309-403. The authors see this Act of the Paris Council as marking the end of a sixteen year struggle between the advocates of the Penitentials, and those opposed to them. Jonas' personal view is expressed very clearly in DIL, 138-139.

[63] CP, p. 633. "Praesbyteri etiam imperiti sollerti studio ab episcopis suis instruendi sunt, qualiter et confitentium peccata discrete inquirere eisque congruum modum secundum canonicam auctoritatem paenitentiae noverint imponere, quoniam hactenus eorum incuria et ignorantia multorum flagitia remanserunt impunita et hoc ad ruinam animarum pertinere dubium non est."

[64] CP, p. 639. "Quidam nostrorum verorum virorum relatu, quidam etiam visu didicimus in quibusdam

of the extent of this practice, though we may judge it was not a recent innovation, since the decree of Theodulph refers to the same abuse.[65] Nowhere in the Acts of the Paris Council does the anger of the bishops reveal itself so vividly as in the strong and emotional language aimed against the ninth century ecclesiastical feminists.

Another chapter on liturgical matters discusses the practice of offering Mass in private homes and gardens, and rules against it. The bishops note that it will not be easy to correct this abuse.[66]

Council Acts--Book Two

The council had set itself to reform in all ranks of society. In what a Church historian has described as a collective examination of conscience,[67]

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provintiis contra legem divinam canonicamque institutionem feminas sanctis altaribus se ultro ingerere sacrataque vasa impudenter contingere et indumenta sacerdotalia praesbyteris administrare et, quod his maius, indecentius ineptiusque est, corpus et sanguinem Domini populis porrigere et alia quaeque, quae ipso dictu turpia sunt, exercere."

[65] Theodulph, Capitulare . . . , Mansi, XIII, 996: "Feminae, missam sacerdote celebrante, nequaquam ad altare accedant, sed locis suis stent, et ibi sacerdotes earum oblationes Deo oblaturus accipiat."

[66] CP, pp. 641-642. Cf. DIL, 143-144, and Theodulph, Capitulare . . . , Mansi, XIII, 996-997.

[67] Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 216.

it had directed its attention first to abuses within the clergy. It next turned to the emperor, and outlined for him his responsibilities.

There is a deference, at times degenerating at least verbally, to obsequiousness, when the assembled bishops address Louis the Pious. Though they were secure in the generally admitted superiority of their state, nevertheless, they openly relied on and actively sought the coercive power of the imperial government for the implementation of their reform measures. As they saw it, it was their role to declare what was to be done, and the emperor's duty to see that it was done.[68]

A very cautious approach is made in telling the emperor his duties. Specific faults are not described, defined, and ruled against, as they were in the case of the clergy. Instead, a highly theoretical treatise is presented to Louis and Lothair. The bishops do not apply the principles to specific cases; they are shrewd enough to let Louis draw his own conclusions.

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[68] Morrison, The Two Kingdoms, p. 15, describes the prevailing political theory thus: "The government of human society was bipartite--temporal and spiritual--and these two powers were divinely ordained, the temporal to serve the moral welfare of mankind in this world through the repression of evil, and the spiritual to lead man to immortality through the teaching of true doctrine."

This second book is the one for which there is the greatest evidence of the role of Bishop Jonas of Orleans, since it incorporates almost the entire treatise, De institutione regia. An introduction attempts to show the relationship of the first two books of the Acts to the overall reform plan of the council.

> Up to this point, there has been a brief treatment of matters pertaining to the Christian religion and the pastoral office, both of those things that should be corrected in the pastors themselves, and of those things which they have neglected. In the little book which follows, we shall treat especially of kings and princes and in general of all the faithful, because, where avarice, envy, hatred, and other vices contrary to charity reign --since that same charity, which is God, cannot be in the same place--the state of the Church is endangered, and the Christian religion, which flourished back in the days of the apostles, grows feeble among us.[69]

The first five chapters can be considered as a unit, treating of the nature of kingship and the principles governing the actions of the king (Chapter

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[69] CP, p. 649. "Hactenus de causis ad religionem Christianam curamque pastorum pertinentibus vel de his, que in persona eorum emendatione digna, vel etiam de his, que ab ipsis usque nunc neglecta sunt, in praesenti libello breviter compraehensum est. In hoc quoque, qui sequitur, libello specialiter de regibus et principibus et generaliter de omnibus fidelibus et quod, ubi avaritia, invidia et odium et cetera vitia caritate contraria regnant--quia eadem caritas, quae Deus est, his inesse non potest--status ecclesiae periclitetur et quod religio Christiana sub apostolis devotius, quam nunc floreat, floruerit et nostro seculo circa multos marcescat, restat prosequendum."

One), the king's duties, especially his responsibilities to the poor (Chapters Two and Three), his role in works of justice, in rewarding good and punishing evil (Chapters Three and Four), and the source of royal authority (Chapter Five).

The second section of this book addresses itself to matters pertaining to the faithful in general. It is preceded by a chapter on charity, which acts as a bridge between the two sections, and parallels the first chapter of Book One. The next chapter also takes up the statement of principle made early in the first book, namely, that faith without good works is dead. This theme is reviewed and developed again in Chapter Ten. The five remaining chapters treat the following topics: the duty of obeying the king, the commandments of God, regulations about public prayer, and exhortations to pray often. The second book, in its original form, very possibly also included a section on duties of married people, taken directly from Jonas of Orléans' treatise, _De institutione laicali_.[70]

Chapter One[71] opens with a descriptive definition of a king, based on a passage from the _Etymologies_ of Saint Isidore of Seville.[72] "A king is called rex by ruling rightly. For if he rules piously, justly, and mercifully, he is deservedly called king; if he lacks these qualities, he is no king, but a tyrant."[73]

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[70] Bernhard Simson, _Jahrbücher des frankischen Reichs unter Ludwig dem Frommen_ (1874), I, 382.

[71] Cf. Jonas, _De institutione regia_, Chapter Three.

The king's first duty is, by the grace of Christ, to rid himself and his household of evil works, and to make good works flourish, so that his subjects may benefit by this good example.[74]

The explanation of the king's vocation to lead an exemplary life is supported by long passages from the Old Testament and from the Fathers, and concludes:

> The king should be concerned to fulfill the name of king not only in his own life, but also in the lives of those subject to him. He should see to it that among his subjects piety, peace,

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[72] Saint Isidore, Etymologies, Bk. IX, Chap. III (PL, LXXXII, 342): "Reges a regendo vocati, sicut enim sacerdos a sanctificando, et rex a regendo; non autem regit, qui non corrigit. Recte igitur faciendo regis nomen tenetur, peccando amittitur. Unde et apud veteres tale erat proverbium. Rex eris si recte facies, si non facias, non eris." In the same chapter (col. 544), Saint Isidore describes a tyrant as being the same as a king among the ancients; tyrants were simply stronger; but the stronger abused their strength and became wicked, so that the term came to designate wicked kings.

[73] CP, p. 649. "Rex recte agendo vocatur. Si enim pie et juste et misericorditer regit, merito rex appellatur; si his caruerit, non rex, sed tyrannus est."

[74] Ibid. "Quia ergo rex a regendo dicitur, primo ei studendum est, ut semetipsum suamque domum Christi adiuvante gratia ab operibus nequam emaculet bonisque operibus exuberare faciat, ut ab ea ceteri subjecti bonum exemplum semper capiant."

> charity, justice, mercy, concord, unanimity, and other good works abound, that having these virtues, his people may deserve to have the Lord with them; let him know, most certainly, that the Lord will exact the fruit of good works not only from himself, but also from those under him.[75]

Chapter Two[76] declares that the royal ministry consists especially in two responsibilities, first, to govern and rule the people of God with justice and equity, and second, to promote peace and concord.[77] The king himself is responsible for those of the people who cannot supply their own needs. "He himself ought first of all to be the defender of the churches and servants of God, of widows and orphans, and of the rest of the poor and needy."[78] The people should know that he will allow no injustice to go unpunished, but that punishment will be suited to the gravity of the offense.

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[75] CP, p. 651. "His ita praemissis studendum est regi, ut non solum in se, verum etiam in sibi subjectis regis nomen adimpleat provideatque ut populus sibi subjectus pietate, pace, caritate, justitia et misericordia atque concordia et unanimitate ceterisque bonis exuberet operibus, ut haec habentes Dominum secum habere mereantur; sciatque certissime, quod non solum de se, verum etiam de ipsis Dominus ab eo fructum bone operationis exacturus est."

[76] Cf. DIR, pp. 145-147.

[77] CP, p. 651. "Regale ministerium specialiter est populum Dei gubernare et regere cum equitate et justitia et, ut pacem et concordiam habeant, studere."

[78] Ibid. "Ipse enim debet primo defensor esse ecclesiarum et servorum Dei, viduarum, orfanorum ceterorumque pauperum necnon et omnium indigentium."

In the exercise of justice, the king should be motivated by the certain knowledge that he will be held accountable as God's own minister.[79]

There is a frank recognition that the poor are at a distinct disadvantage in court, and this is why Christian justice and charity impose upon the king the obligation to make their concerns his own.[80] Of course the king cannot act personally as judge in each case, but he must see that the judges he appoints are just men who fear God and despise avarice.[81] The instructions about just judgment are also applied to "those who, after the king, should rule the people of God, that is dukes and counts."[82] These must recognize that the people under them are their equals by nature, and rule accordingly.

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[79] CP, p. 652. "Scire etiam debet, quod causa, quam juxta ministerium sibi commissum administrat, non hominum, sed Dei causa existit, cui pro ministerio, quod suscepit, in examinis tremendi die rationem redditurus est."

[80] Ibid. "Et ideo oportet, ut ipse, qui judex ext judicum, causam pauperum ad se ingredi faciat et diligenter inquirat, ne forte illi, qui ab eo constituti sunt et vicem eius agere debent in populo, injuste aut neglegenter pauperes oppressiones pati permittant." Cf. DIL, 218-221.

[81] CP, p. 653. "Ad peccatum regis pertinet, quando judicibus ministrisque iniquis ministerium suum adimplendum committit . . . tales sub se timentes Deum et avaritiam odientes constituat, per quos regem regum non offendat."

[82] CP, p. 654. "His qui praemissa sunt, declaratur, quod hi, qui post regem populum Dei regere debent, id est duces et comites."

That the stability of the kingdom depends on the exercise of justice, is the argument of Chapter Four,[83] which develops Proverbs 14:34, "Justitia elevat gentem et miseros facit populos peccatum." Chapter Five[84] discusses the source of the king's authority. There is an opening categorical statement that the kingdom is given by God, not by men, and the corollary that this excludes heredity as the sole principle of the right to rule.[85] Nor is the right to rule based on power.[86] Since God's Will is the source of the king's power, let the king rule according to that Will, so that he may reign with the King of kings forever.[87]

This concludes what the second book of Acts of the Council of Paris has to say to Louis the Pious and local magnates on the subject of their duty as rulers. Why the council fathers incorporated such a collection of general statements in an otherwise pragmatic set of proceedings, can only be a matter for conjecture, in the absence of documentary evidence. The contrast between the treatment meted out to bishops in the first book, and that given to lay rulers in the second, is even more intriguing in the light of Book Three, where once again the Acts become fearless recommendations about specific abuses, this time addressed directly to Louis himself.

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[83] Cf. DIR, pp. 152-154.

[84] Cf. DIR, pp. 155-156.

[85] CP, p. 655. "Nemo regum a progenitoribus regnum sibi administrari, sed a Deo veraciter atque humiliter credere debet dari. . . . Multi namque munere divino, multi etiam Dei permissu regnant. Qui pie et juste et misericorditer regnant sine dubio per Deum regnant; qui vero secus, non eius munere, sed permissu tantum regnant."

[86] Ibid. "Constat ergo, quia non astu, non voto neque brachio fortitudinis humanae, sed virtute, immo occulto iudicio dispensationis divine regnum confertur terrenum."

[87] Ibid. "Et idcirco cuicumque ab eo committitur, ita illud secundum eius voluntatem disponere et gubernare procuret, quatenus cum eo, a quo illud suscepit, feliciter in perpetuum regnare valeat."

Book Two, Chapter Six, may be seen as something of a transition chapter between the section treating of rulers and that pertaining to the ruled. It develops the theme of charity, a favorite one of Jonas of Orléans, as can be seen from his treatment of it in both the De institutione laicali and De institutione regia.[88] In the Acts, the essay on charity is used in an attempt to integrate all that has gone before with the recommendations to follow. The place of charity in the thought of Jonas is illustrated by the following example.

> For where there is no charity, neither can there be any other good. We recognize a great danger among the ranks of both the clergy and

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[88] Cf. DIL, 233-234, and DIR, pp. 159-161.

> the laity, because charity, which is God, and the honor of Christianity, and the "summa" of our whole faith, does not reign among many, and it is not without great grief that we admit this. . . . Many are miserably deceived because they think that without charity they can please God in this life, and reach Him at the end. The truth is, that if we do not have charity, but instead are ruled by hatred, envy, avarice, discord, deceit, luxury, and all the rest of the evils which are utterly abhorrent to the Christian ideal, it is no wonder that God's punishments are inflicted on us in so many ways, and that we are attacked by enemies from within and without. If we want to enjoy times of peace, in tranquillity and quiet, then let us cherish the lover of peace and charity, let us fear Him, and submit humbly to His commandments.[89]

This charity, for Jonas, is not a sublime but unattainable ideal. Still musing over the problems of right rule, he makes a practical application to the members of the king's household, and to the households of lesser rulers, telling them that their envy and rivalry destroy charity precisely where it ought to shine the brightest.[90] As a result, they not only give a bad reputation to the entire court, "but what is even more disgraceful, they give to the enemies of the name of Christ a great cause for rejoicing."[91]

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[89] CP, p. 656. "Quod ubi caritas non est, nulla bona inesse possint. Magnum in utroque ordine, clericali videlicet et laicali, periculum esse cognoscimus, quod caritas, quae Deus est ac decus christianitatis et in qua summa totius fidei nostrae consistit, in multis utriusque ordinis, quod non sine magno animi dolore dicimus, non regnare convincitur. . . . Miserabiliter plane dicipiuntur plerique, qui sine caritate aut Deo in hac mortalitate placere aut ad eum sine illa se putant pervenire. Verum si in nobis caritas non est, sed odium et invidia et avaritia ed discordia et simulatio et luxuria et cetera mala regnant, quae omnia a christianitatis proposito abhorrent, mirum non est, si animadversiones divine nos interius exteriusque diversissimis modis feriant et impetum inimicorum adversum nos commoveant. Quapropter si pacis tempora quiete et tranquille ducere volumus, pacis et caritatis amatorem diligamus et timeamus eiusque preceptis humiliter colla submittamus."

The exhortation to the great to practice charity fell on deaf ears. At Worms, where another of the four reform councils was in progress, seven year old Charles, son of Louis by his second wife, Judith, was given a piece of territory carved out of the holdings of his half-brothers. By the following year, all that weary catalogue of vices: avarice, envy, hatred and the rest, had flamed into open revolt.[92]

In the seventh chapter, while the theme of the necessity for good works is developed with reference to its treatment in Book One, there is little or nothing by way of specification of good works, but rather a long comparison with primitive Christianity, when, according to the Council fathers, Christians were ever so much better than the men of 829. "Among them, the brotherhood of Christians was stronger than blood relationships . . . they thought it wicked not to share their earthly goods, since they were sharers in grace; [now] brotherly love, which once glowed with the love of Christ, grows cold."[93] In conclusion, the Act calls upon each Christian to re-examine his baptismal promises, to see if he has not violated his oath of fidelity.[94]

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[90] CP, p. 656. "Hi autem, qui palatinis honoribus fulciuntur, clerici sint sive laici, dignum est ut vinculo caritatis conectantur, ne alterutrius injuriam aut dehonorationem contra fas meditentur, ne desides et dolosi ad invicem existant."

[91] Ibid. ". . . quod his indecentius est, ad inimicos nominis Christi magnum tripudium transmittunt."

[92] Amann, L'époque carolingienne, p. 217.

The obedience to royal authority enjoined in Chapter Eight is absolute. Earlier, the treatise calls a wicked king a tyrant, one who has abdicated his right to rule because he does not rule rightly; but there is no indication in this chapter that Jonas thought the ruled had any right to resist a tyrannical ruler.

The tenth chapter discusses the moral consequences of having received the Faith. "Some say that those who have been reborn in Christ, although they live in crime and end their days in evil deeds, are to be punished by a long purgatory, but not by eternal fire."[95] The bishops remind that the Christian who dies in sin will be much worse off than he who had not received the faith. Apparently they are attacking a widely held opinion, since there is the admission that many hold the error and are influencing others by the easy doctrine, deluding them by a "vain security."[96] Another indication of the timeliness of this advice is the presence of the same chapter in both the De institutione laicali and the De institutione regia.[97] This is also true of the three final chapters of Book Two, which treat of proper conduct in liturgical prayer, and the need for frequent prayer.[98]

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[93] CP, p. 657. "In illis enim major erat fraternitas Christi quam sanguinis. . . . Nefas enim putabant eum sibi participem non adsciscere in substantia, qui particeps esset in gratia; . . . et refrigescit fraternitatis caritas, quae prius Christi amore fervebat."

[94] CP, p. 659. ". . . unusquisque fidelis penetralis cordis sui rimetur et, si fidem Christi, quam percepit, operibus non exornat, pacti, quod cum Deo in baptismate fecit, se praevaricatorem esse cognoscat."

Council Acts--Book Three

The theoretical character of the second book of the Acts throws into high relief the pragmatic character of the third book.[99] Book Three is prefaced by a letter to Louis and Lothair,[100] marked by a Byzantine type of adulation, a characteristic maintained throughout the book.[101]

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[95] CP, p. 661. "Dici solet a nonnullis Christianis, quod hi, qui in Christo renati sunt, quamquam scelerate vivant et in malis operibus diem extremum claudant, diuturno atque purgatorio, non tamen perpetuo sint igne puniendi."

[96] Ibid. "Cum multi hoc adserant . . . cavendum est, ut hoc non solum non credant, verum etiam nec ex ore proferant, ne forte hoc dicendo et se et alios quodammodo vana securitate deludant."

[97] Cf. DIL, 158-161, and DIR, pp. 172-176.

[98] Cf. DIL, 143-144, 147-149.

> We bishops, your unworthy servants, humbly give thanks to God, and together we proclaim and praise His great goodness and kindness, because He has made you, his very devoted servants, zealous in His love, so that you plan continually for the progress and glory of His holy Church. As faithful and beloved sons, you are eager to bring your spiritual mother to a better and stronger state.[102]

The letter reviews the reasons for calling the council. The emperor had recognized that the evils threatening the empire from within and without were the just punishment for sin, and resolved to hold a council to find out what, with God's help, should be corrected in the lives of the people of every rank. When the original plan had to be modified because of the violence of enemy attack, the emperor had held a meeting with a small number of advisors, and had issued as a result certain capitularies touching on the most flagrant abuses demanding immediate correction. Imperial legates had been sent to enforce the capitularies. Among these capitularies, one ordained meetings of bishops, to be held simultaneously in four different parts of the empire to discover what in customs, speech, and actions was not in conformity with the divine authority, and to make known their findings to the emperor. The bishops explain that they now offer these three little books for the perusal and approval of the emperor, recognizing their limitations because of the short time and small talent that went into their preparation. They have decided not to sidestep the issues that pertain directly to him, in order that he may have a candid picture of what went on at their meeting.[103]

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[99] Clercq, II, 79, says that Book Three, canons 70-94, seems to reproduce effective deliberations of the bishops. Canons 68-69 are hard to explain. "Ce sont peut-être un raccord redige de toutes pièces par Jonas d'Orléans."

[100] From 817, Lothair shared the imperial title and dignity with his father. Amann, L'église carolingienne, p. 206.

[101] Among the titles: praestantissimus, orthodoxis et invictissimus Augustus; vestra serenitas; vestra celsitudo; vestra excellentia; vestra pietas; vestra magnitudo. Cf. CP, pp. 667-678.

[102] CP, p. 667. "Nos famuli vestri quamvis indigni, tamen episcopi, Deo humiliter grates persolvimus eiusque inmensam pietatem et benignitatem conlaudamus et predicamus, qui vos adeo in sui amorem devotissimos famulos suos flagrare facit, ut de profectu et exaltatione sanctae suae ecclesiae indesinenter cogitetis eamque utpote matrem spiritalem sicut fidelis et dilecti spiritales filii ad meliora et potiora semper provehere studeatis."

After this highly embellished rhetorical introduction, the Acts return to the business of providing for the emperor a list of the specific matters which require his attention. Contrary to the opinions of some, this third book is more than a precis of Books One and Two, since it contains material found in neither of the other books.[104]

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[103] CP, p. 668. ". . . ut ea diligenter inspiciendo, legendo et audiendo aperte atque distincte vestra cognoscat celsitudo, de quibus et pro quibus in memoratis conventibus nostris secundum virium nostrarum possibilitatem fideliter salubriterque egerimus."

In Chapter Two, there is a list of practices which "no doubt remain from the rite of the gentiles." The list of these "very pernicious evils" includes magic, sorcery, and love potions which are supposed to drive men mad.[105]

It is possible that the catalogue of pagan practices is less an eyewitness account of prevalent practices than a passage adapted from Saint Isidore of Seville's Etymologies.[106] It is significant here, however, because it demonstrates that in a section of the empire which had been Christianized at an early date, and was not in any sense of the word mission territory, pagan practices were still of serious concern.

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[104] Hefele and Leclercq, IV, Pt. II, 69, claims that the third book is merely a precis. "Le livre III^{e} n'est qu'un extrait des deux premiers."

[105] CP, p. 669. "Extant et alia pernitiosissima mala, quae ex ritu gentilium remansisse non dubium est, ut sunt magi, arioli, sortilegi, venefici, divini, incantatores, somniatorum coniectores, quos divina lex inretractabiliter puniri jubet."

Ibid. "Dubium etenim non est, sicut multis est notum, quod a quibusdam praestigiis atque diabolicis inlusionibus ita mentes quorundam inficiantur poculus amatoriis, cibis vel filacteriis, ut in insaniam versi a plerisque judicentur. . ."

Cf. MGH, Capitularia, I-I, 174. Anno 813. "Ut presbiteri sub sigillo custodiant crisma et nulli sub praetextu medicinae vel maleficii donare praesumant: si fecerint, honore priventur."

[106] Cf. Thorndike, pp. 628-632. The evidence here is indirect. Thorndike shows the dependence of

In presuming on the emperor's support in correcting the abuses they have detailed, the bishops recognized that there already are capitularies dealing with some of the matters under consideration. This is clear from their remark.

> There are many other disgraceful actions demanding correction, but we decided that they need not be treated here, since we recognize that you have already included them in your capitularies. By your authority, and with the advice of your faithful, you have directed these abuses to be vigorously corrected by your *missi*.[107]

Rhabanus Maurus on Saint Isidore's treatment of magic and superstition, citing a list from the *Etymologies* which closely resembles that used in the Act of the Paris Council.

A source later than Isidore gives what may well be a more accurate picture of the pagan religious practices which Churchmen were trying to eradicate. See Mansi, XII, 106-108, for a list of thirty specific superstitious beliefs and practices in an "indiculus superstitionum" of the mid-eighth century.

Cf. also a work by one of Jonas' contemporaries, Agobard of Lyons, *Contra insulsam vulgi opinionem de grandine et tonitrus*, *PL*, CIV, 147-158.

[107] *CP*, p. 671. "Sunt etiam et alia plura flagitia pernecessario corrigenda, que nos ideo hic inserere non necessarium duximus, quoniam satis evidenter in vestris capitulis compraehensa esse scimus, que vos vestra auctoritate et fidelium consultu per strenuos missos vestros corrigenda esse censuistis." The capitularies referred to are in *MGH*, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, Bk. II, Pt. I (Legum, Sectio II), pp. 14-17. The capitularies are dated August, 829,

The capitularies mentioned supplement the picture drawn by the council Acts. They treat of vacant benefices, the replacement of unjust scabini and unjust judges, punishment of perjurers, disturbers of the peace, an attempt at regulating coinage, the problem of getting bridges repaired, ordeal by cold water, and the establishment of the appellate jurisdiction of the emperor's court. This last capitulary fulfills a pledge made in the letter which had convened the four councils of 829. It reads:

> Our missi shall declare to the counts and to the people, that once a week we intend to sit for the purpose of hearing and judging causes. If our counts and missi want to stay in our favor, let them be very conscientious, lest perhaps, on account of their negligence, the poor are abused and we have to wear ourselves out listening to their complaints. The people should be told not to come to us unless our missi or the counts are unwilling to do justice.[108]

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which would place them after the Council of Paris, which ended in June. If the capitularies were promulgated only in August, this places the publication of the Acts of the Council some time after the Council itself. A note in the MGH edition, p. 14, states that Ludwig Simson places these capitularies in the first months of 829.

[108] MGH, Capitularia Regum Francorum, II, 16-17: "Hoc missi nostri notum faciant comitibus et populo, quod nos in omni ebdomada unum diem ad causas audiendas et judicandas sedere volumus. Comites autem et missi nostri magnum studium habeant, ne forte propter eorum neglegentiam pauperes crucientur et nos taedium propter eorum clamores patiamur, si nostram gratiam habere velint. Populo autem dicatur, ut caveat de aliis causis se ad nos reclamare, nisi de quibus aut missi nostri aut comites eis justitias facere noluerint."

Chapters Three to Seven are summaries of matters developed in the first book, and their repetition here can perhaps be taken as an indication that these were issues considered especially urgent, or those which were most able to benefit from the coercive support of the emperor. In Chapter Three, which treats of unjust weights and measures, the council fathers candidly admit that the solution is beyond their ability.

> Concerning inequality of measures . . . how this matter can be brought to a certain correction does not appear at all clear to us, because there is almost no uniformity from one province to another. However, in these matters, we hope and advise that within each province, by your imperial order, and through fear of your highness, no one will have, nor permit to be had, in his own dominion, a double set of measures. We know that this practice causes the poor to suffer in many places, and that they are reduced to the most miserable circumstances.[109]

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[109] CP, pp. 671-672. "De mensurarum namque inaequalitate et modiis injustis et sestariis, quae Domini lege haberi prohibentur, qualiter res ad certam correctionem perduci possit, non satis perspicue nobis patet, eo quod in diversis provintiis diverse ab omnibus pene habeantur. Hoc tamen modis omnibus optamus et monemus, ut in unaquaque provintia imperii vestri jussu atque terrore celsitudinis vestrae nullus duplices mensuras in sua dominatione aut habeat aut haberi permittat, quoniam hac occasione multos pauperes affligi in plerisque locis cognovimus et ad paupertatem miseriamque devenisse."

It is not strange that the bishops could not fathom their economic situation, since they were in the midst of an agricultural revolution. See Thorndike, Medieval Technology . . . , p. 56.

The sequence of the Acts is broken by a fresh introduction to a series of chapters pleading for respect for the clergy.

> We humbly beg Your Excellency, that you will see to it that your sons and nobles recognize the sacerdotal power, strength, and dignity. This they can understand easily from the words of the Lord spoken to blessed Peter, whose office, unworthy though we are, we now hold.[110] He said, "Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, . . ." and to the other disciples generally he said, "Receive the Holy Spirit; whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven, and whose you shall retain, are retained."[111]

Supporting passages are quoted from Rufinus' Ecclesiastical History and Julianus Pomerius' De vita contempliva. "Granted," concludes Chapter Nine, "that we are far inferior in life and merits to our holy predecessors, nevertheless, the sacred ministry we unworthily perform, is of no less authority and dignity; and although we are unworthy of so great a ministry, we should not be despised, for the sake of

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[110] There was an incipient conciliarism in the Frankish Church. Cf. Morrison, The Two Kingdoms, p. 20.

[111] CP, p. 673. "Petimus humiliter vestram excellentiam, ut per vos filii et proceres vestri nomen, potestatem, vigorem et dignitatem sacerdotalem cognoscant. Quod ex verbis Domini facile intelligere possunt, quibus beato Petro, cujus vicem indigni gerimus, ait: Quodcumque ligaveris (etc.) . . . et alibi discipulis generaliter dicit: Accipite Spiritum sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis retenta sunt."

Him whose ministry we perform."[112] This section on the clergy may be seen as a piece of revisionist writing, qualifying the strong words about clerical shortcomings in Book One. The bishops think it is "especially necessary to suggest to your piety that your faithful be admonished and instructed . . . lest through inane and false suspicion, they take scandal, and without reason offend God in slandering us."[113]

The need for a better instructed clergy, so often referred to in the first book of the Acts, led to a carefully considered proposal. The bishops could here have cited capitularies of Louis' own reign as precedents, but they prefer to appeal to the example of the illustrious Charlemagne.

> We earnestly and suppliantly suggest to your highness, that following your father's custom, you establish by your authority public schools at once, in three well-suited locations in your empire. In this way your father's work, and yours, will not perish from careless neglect, since from this undertaking there will come to the holy Church of God

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[112] CP, p. 673. "Licet enim sanctorum praecedentium sacerdotum vita et meritis longe inferiores simus, idem tamen sacrum ministerium, quod indigni suscepimus, non minoris auctoritatis et dignitatis existit et, quamquam tanto ministerio indigni simus, propter illum tamen, cujus ministerium gerimus, in nobis non contemnendum est."

[113] CP, p. 674. "Illud etiam specialiter necessarium vestrae suggerere pietati duximus, ut fideles vestri per vos admoneantur et instruantur, . . . ut non per inanem et falsam suspicionem contra nos scandalum sumant et sine causa in nos detrahendo Deum offendant."

> great honor and usefulness. For you, the project will be a great benefit, and a lasting memorial.[114]

The bishops enumerate several other requests for assistance in specifically clerical problems. The emperor is asked for assistance in bringing back from Italy fugitive clergy, and is entreated to be wary of listening to every complaining cleric who has a charge to bring against his ecclesiastical superiors.

That the blood-feud was still a prevalent practice demanding the bishops' attention is clear from Chapter Seventeen.[115]

> We humbly suggest to your serenity, that by your most careful attention and imperial authority, such a rash spilling of the blood of Christians in your realm be stopped. . . . We do not understand by what pernicious reasoning some take upon themselves, when they are supported by no authority, the office of vengeance, punishing and killing other men.[116]

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[114] CP, p. 675. "Similiter etiam obnixe ac suppliciter vestrae celsitudini suggerimus, ut morem paternum sequentes saltim in tribus congruentissimis imperii vestri locis scole publice ex vestra auctoritate fiant, ut labor patris vestri et vester per incuriam, quod absit, labefactando non depereat, quoniam ex hoc facto et magna utilitas et honor sanctae Dei ecclesiae et vobis magnum mercedis emolumentum et memoria sempiterna adcrescet."

[115] Bloch, Feudal Society, II, 414, mentions a Carolingian capitulary which forbade the prosecution of the blood-feud on Sunday, and considers this a singular example from the period. "This measure was revived --for the first time, apparently--in 1057 by a small diocesan synod held in Roussillon." The Acts of the Council of Paris and the treatises of Jonas would seem to indicate a well-developed opposition to the blood-feud.

[116] CP, pp. 675-676. "Iterum suppliciter

Near the end of Book Three, the hand of Jonas of Orléans becomes clearly evident again. In a chapter advising the emperor to be very careful in the matter of choosing counselors, since "they must be an example of good to others within the realm, and among other nations, a support of your good reputation,"[117] there is an unmistakable linking of this advice to the treatise on charity in the second book of the Acts. It is the Bishop of Orléans playing a final variation on his favorite theme.[118]

An examination of the writings of Bishop Jonas of Orléans, as they are incorporated in the Acts of the Council of Paris, 829, helps towards a more precise understanding of the meaning and significance of Jonas' other works, particularly the De institutione regia

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admonendo vestrae suggerimus serentitati, ut vestro sollertissimo studio vestraque imperiali autoritate tam temeraria Christianorum sanguinis effusio in regno vestro fieri non sinatur . . . vero nescimus qua pernoxia adinventione a nonnullis usurpatum est, ut hi, qui nulla ministerio fulciuntur, proper sua odia et diversissimas voluntates pessimas indebitum sibi usurpant in vindicandis proximis et in interficiendis hominibus vindictae ministerium."

[117] CP, p. 678. "qui debent esse intra regnum aliis decus et bonitatis exemplum et in exteris nationibus bonae opinionis condimentum."

[118] Ibid. ". . . caritatem, pacematque concordiam, omni simulatione et calliditate postposita, ad invicem habeant . . . verique adiutores vestri et totius regni salubriter esse poterunt, si unanimes extiterint et invicem dilectionem habuerint."

and the De institutione laicali.

The story of the Paris Council provides a clear, if incomplete, picture of the religious, social, and political problems which exercised the ruling class of Louis the Pious' realm. Jonas' activity at the council, more than any other single event of his career, proves the social significance of his pastoral writings.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Jonas of Orléans lived in a society characterized by political disintegration and social and cultural mediocrity. Even those who see the Carolingian renaissance as continuing beyond Alcuin and the palace school find the second generation of Carolingian scholars to which Jonas belongs less worthy of attention than their forerunners. For the most part, an investigation of the writings and of the social influence of Jonas of Orléans offers substantiating evidence for this view. Beyond this, the study affords certain qualifications in the area of early ninth century religious thought and practice.

Part of Jonas' value for the social historian derives from his lack of originality. The very fact that his thought and its expression are so obviously derivative allows the conclusion that he expresses attitudes and opinions typical of his social class. In the examples he chooses to illustrate his lessons, he presents us with vignettes of daily life in ninth century France. This chapter will present conclusions drawn from the investigation of Jonas' writings and public career, and will then indicate problems for further research which are suggested by this study.

Chapter I, which presents the extant biographical data about Jonas, and Chapter VI, which discusses his role in the Council of Paris, 829, together show that he found himself in a paradoxical situation. On the one hand, both by temperament and fidelity to his understanding of the Church's teaching, he was in deep sympathy with the poor and the weak, and sensitive to their vulnerability in a society where power was not regulated by a well ordered government and a developed legal system. On the other hand, Jonas was a leader in the circle of bishops close to Louis the Pious, a group which exerted much more power over the emperor than had their immediate predecessors under Charlemagne. Jonas and his fellow bishops kept the conscience of a very weak king, and they increased their own power in the process.

The inherent tension of this situation, as exemplified in Jonas' career, illustrates one of the major dilemmas the Church had to face at this time. We can see in Jonas' denunciations of avarice and of injustice in the treatment of the poor the rudiments of social thought which underlie every revolutionary movement in western Christendom. In the history of restless Christians, Jonas is an apt ninth century example.

The activities of Jonas help assess the extent of the influence of the ecclesiastical reform inaugurated by Saint Boniface in the eighth century. It was Saint Boniface who organized the diocesan structure and who established the system of metropolitan archbishops which prevailed in Jonas' time. How functional this system was, and how effectively it promoted the concerted action of bishops of a given region, is illustrated by the speed and effectiveness with which regional councils were called in a period of extreme political upheaval.

The Council of 829 in which Jonas played a key role is especially significant in this regard, because it is the only one of four called in that year from which the acts remain. As such, this council has a unique documentary value in any investigation of Carolingian social and religious history. Besides what it tells directly of religious life of its time, it enables one to assess how great a retrogression occurred later in the ninth century as a result of the disintegration of the empire and the Viking invasions. In the problems to which the assembled bishops directed their attention can be seen their own estimate of the problems they identified as most pressing. The fact that there is no record of discussion on doctrinal matters, but a total absorption in matters of conduct, gives a key to the mentality of these men who were the leaders of society.

The study of the interrelation between Jonas' pastoral treatises and the council documents in which they were incorporated makes possible several deductions about Jonas himself. He must have combined exceptional organizational ability with a keen instinct for timely issues, a combination of qualities which points to political leadership. This dissertation shows that among the men of his day, Jonas' prestige was high. Whether by accident or talent, Jonas emerged as much more influential than his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Sens. One reason for Jonas' success was his ability to draw on the work of his immediate predecessor, Theodulph. The discussion of Theodulph's writings in Chapter III shows that while Theodulph has been studied chiefly as a court poet of the first generation of the Carolingian renaissance, it was not only in the realm of literature, but also in that of pastoral care that he was a major influence. This influence is due in part to Jonas' assimilation and transmission of Theodulph's ideas. Particularly is this true in the matter of the reform and development of the practice of the sacrament of penance. It was Jonas who helped bring about the implementation of Theodulph's moderate position written into his two collections of diocesan decrees.

Certain cautious deductions about the level of education of the Frankish clergy can be drawn from the study of Jonas' career. Not only was there a perceptive appraisal by the bishops of the problem of educating the lower clergy and of maintaining a high standard of conduct. The bishops also took specific steps to raise the level of priestly training. Here again, Jonas was the direct beneficiary of Theodulph's work. One conclusion that can be drawn from a study of the writings of the two bishops is that the rank and file of the Frankish clergy, at least in the diocese of Orléans, was not composed of illiterate serfs who could hardly mumble their Latin. Jonas' own household included a quasi-monastic community, according to his own testimony in De cultu imaginum.

Just as the story of Jonas illustrates one continuation of the reform of Saint Boniface, so, too, does it exemplify an application of the monastic reform of Saint Benedict Aniane. Jonas' dealings with monks, those of Micy and Fleury within his own diocese, as well as his involvement at Saint-Denis and Calais, show how consistently he attempted to foster monasticism. Particularly noteworthy in the story of Jonas' relations with the monks is the high level of legal precision in charters guaranteeing monastic privileges.[1] This level was not maintained in the monastic decline which accompanied the dissolution of the empire after Louis the Pious.

Because of the unsystematic nature of Jonas' teaching as contained in the six works which are described in Chapter II, it was necessary to establish some criterion for analyzing his teaching. After placing these writings in their social setting in Chapter III and Chapter IV, it is by examining Jonas' teaching on charity, in Chapter V, that this dissertation attempts to assess the quality of the moral message contained in his pastoral treatises and in the synodal decrees he helped formulate.

This investigation of Jonas' pastoral treatises shows that in speculative religious thought, Jonas does not rise above the level of his age. He fails to organize his material into a logical, coherent system.

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[1] I am indebted to Professor David Knowles for pointing this out to me, particularly with regard to the charter which confirms Jonas' rights in relation to the abbot of Micy, 826.

As Jonas himself explains in the preface to De institutione laicali, he sees himself as a compiler. Only occasionally does he rise above this standard, as, for example, when he attempts to answer Matfrid's request for an instruction on marriage in Book Two of De institutione laicali. What does emerge from an analysis of Jonas' writings is a rather clear picture of the priority Jonas places on certain expressions of the doctrine of charity as this is found in Scripture and the Fathers.

Jonas accepts a notion of charity which was current in his day. Charity is, according to this common teaching, good will. This notion of charity, derived from Saint Augustine's De civitate Dei, seems to satisfy Jonas as an adequate description, though he also attempts to integrate passages on charity from the Gospel according to Saint John, and from Saint John's Epistles.

Jonas is emphatic that love proves itself in obedience to the law of God and in the imitation of Christ. Jonas finds the law of love spelled out in the Gospels. Particularly does he insist on the responsibility of the rich and powerful towards the vulnerable members of society. One corollary of this principle is that man is only the custodian of goods. A practical application of the principle is the practice of hospitality. Jonas is insistent on this, pointing out repeatedly that a violation of hospitality is a failure to observe a strict obligation of Christian morality.

In Jonas' teaching, it is charity which is the cement of society and which governs the exercise of justice. Thus, in writing to men of power concerning their obligations in the administration of justice, Jonas makes a special point of defending the poor, and of reminding his readers that social position is of secondary importance in the Christian economy. Again, it is charity in the form of filial piety which gives direction to Jonas' view of government. If Pepin will simply act as a good son towards the emperor, Jonas is convinced, the problems which threaten the peace and order of the realm will disappear.

What emerges from these examples is that Jonas sees charity especially as a realization of social responsibility, the notion that was to flower in later French literature as *noblesse oblige*. This concept governs the selection of texts Jonas uses to illustrate his own views on almost any topic he treats.[2] Thus, in discussing confession, he points out Saint

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[2] E.g., *supra*, Chap. II, pp. 63, 80-81, 88-90; Chap. IV, pp. 204-206; Chap. V, pp. 217-222; Chap. VI, pp. 248-249, 257-258, 292-293.

Augustine's teaching that sin not only offends God, but at the same time wounds the Church.

Less easily subsumed under the governing principle of charity as social responsibility, but nevertheless perfectly consistent with it, is Jonas' treatment of marriage. The sixteen chapters on marriage in the second book of De institutione laicali may well be the single most fully developed treatment of the subject in the early medieval period, and for this reason alone, this work warrants attention. The fact that Jonas insists so strongly that marriage is good argues his awareness of a need to answer an implied Manicheanism. An examination of prevailing standards as these are reflected in penitentials and in the decrees which issued from diocesan synods and regional councils of the period, reveals the climate in which Jonas wrote. It was sacramental practice, more than theology, which formed this climate. In evaluating Jonas' teaching on marriage, it is necessary to make a particular effort to get beyond the entire tradition of romantic love that began to develop only many generations after Jonas' time. When Jonas insists that marriage exists for the sake of friendship, he gives the key to all his other teaching on the regulation of sexual behavior, which, for Jonas, is never judged outside the context of the primary of charity. By implication, this teaching on marriage upholds the dignity of woman as effectively as any amount of direct argument on the subject.

It would be a distorted view of Jonas which would focus only on these idealistic components of his message. Also to be found are tendencies which militate against the full development of the principles contained in many passages which attempt to inculcate the Christian way of life. There is in Jonas' writing a defensiveness against the encroachments of the laity which causes him to speak of clergy and laity as lined up in opposition to each other. In this regard, what is significant is the terminology Jonas uses in speaking of the avaricious laity who threaten ecclesiastical authority. The term _laici_ supplants _fideles_ when Jonas writes about a conflict situation. Jonas' writings clearly play a part in the development of the idea of the layman as a non-cleric.

This study of Jonas' pastoral writings and their immediate social significance suggest several problems deserving further investigation. Why, in Jonas' writings, is there such an exclusive preoccupation with problems of conduct? The answers offered in

Chapter III only partially satisfy this question. Further, what effect did this extremely limited unspeculative approach, which was typical not only of Jonas, but also of his contemporaries, have on the development of Christian doctrine and religious practice?

This dissertation also suggests that there is room for further study of the pastoral role of Theodulph of Orléans. Just as the picture of Jonas has suffered some distortion by the exclusive attention that has been given by historians to his minor work, De institutione regia, so Theodulph's literary accomplishments have tended to obscure his importance in the development of religious thought and practice.

In showing some of the mediocre writings through which Scripture and the Fathers were transmitted to the ninth century, this study did not prove exactly to what extent Jonas had access to complete works of the Fathers, and how far he was dependent on florilegia. Chapter II and Chapter III point out that Jonas' understanding of Scripture and the Fathers was also conditioned by his reading of lesser authors who, on their own merits, have only a negligible place in the history of medieval letters. Defensor's Liber scintillarum, the De duodecim abusivis saeculi of an anonymous Irish monk, Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis liber*, and Julianus Pomerius' *De vita contempliva*, have little to recommend them to the student of medieval literature. To the social historian it is as important to assess the influence of these mediocre works as it is to analyze the writings of the great creative thinkers. Further investigation of these and similar minor works would throw light on the development of medieval religious thought.

Closely allied to this problem is the question of the authorship of the works written over Jonas' name. No one of the authors consulted in the preparation of this thesis has questioned Jonas' independent authorship of the *Vita Sancti Huberti*, *Historia translationis Sancti Huberti*, *De institutione laicali*, *De institutione regia*, and *De cultu imaginum*. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suggest, on the basis of internal evidence, that Jonas may not have been the author in the modern sense. Several of these works can hardly be called original writings, but rather compilations of authoritative passages on given topics. There is lacking that command of the material and logical development which would give the works claim to originality. For this reason, this study suggests that Jonas of Orléans might more accurately be styled the editor rather than the author of the works which bear his name. What is at issue here is more than a mere label. If further study could show that Jonas' works were actually joint endeavors of a group of monks or other clerics in Fleury, or in Jonas' household, this discovery would contribute to a more accurate understanding of the methods of early medieval research and writing.

Linguistic analysis could help test the authenticity of Jonas' works, as Reviron pointed out in the introduction to his edition of De institutione regia. Before this, however, it would be necessary to prepare a critical edition of De institutione laicali. The printed edition of this work is based on a late manuscript. Two earlier manuscripts, Cologne 184 and Vaticana Latina 990, are available for a critical study of the text.

An examination of these two manuscripts raises another problem whose solution could call into question the results of the investigations of Simpson and Scharf into the chronology of Jonas' writings. In both the Cologne and Vatican manuscripts, the index capitulorum indicates a chapter entitled De principibus, which is missing in the body of the text. If it could be proved that De principibus is actually that part of De institutione regia which is not identical with De institutione laicali, the date generally accepted for the composition of De institutione regia would become untenable.

In summary, what can be gathered from this study are certain shades of understanding of the role of one Carolingian bishop in the formation of a Christian society. It is the political and military leaders of the ninth century who dominate the stage, because it is they who turned history's course by giving Frankish society a thrust in a certain direction. Jonas' place is certainly not among these leaders. Nevertheless, of the many strands which together compose a culture, some of the most subtle and elusive are not for that reason insignificant. In a man like Jonas we can see how Christian teaching filtered through to society, and we can better appreciate how dynamic that teaching proved itself in the process of cultural assimilation.

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